Prospects of Arkzin / Izgledi Arkzina

Arkzin Digital Archive / Digitalna arhiva Arkzina

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Prospects of Arkzin / Arkzin Digital Archive / Izgledi Arkzina Digitalna arhiva Arkzina CATALOG / KATALOG DVD / ARHIVZALJUDSKAPRAVA.ORG

Arkzin & Multimedijalni institut, Zagreb, 2013.

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> Arkzin Digital Archive / Digitalna arhiva Arkzina

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Arkzin & Multimedijalni institut, Zagreb, 2013.

ARKSCAPE -O-Balances Inc.

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WAS IST ARKZIN III

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Arkzin







Introduction

A hybrid document in your hand is an attempt at revisiting a chapter in Croatia's recent history known as Arkzin. In present-day Croatia, when the insistently inculcated and unquestioned monolith of 1 capitalism, 1 state, 1 political system, 1 nation, 1 church, 1 language and script, 1form of marriage i.e. that perennial Croatian ideological desire for a homogeneous society that has finally and for times everlasting been freed from the externally imposed irenic rift in its national substance - is breaking at the seams and emerging as a double-headed monster cannibalizing itself, Arkzin's effort to think and live society, media, script and expression in plural, in order to keep alive a "potential for an alternative organization of society", bears an uncanny relevance for the present. - The 90s are back!

Or rather, the 90s are still with us The events of the 90s have solidified as a historical block of ideological beliefs, economic and political arrangements, forms of structural and symbolic violence that will continue to be perpetuated and mutually reproduced for as long as the unity of the Croatian social project exists. To finally do away with any one of those elements requires to do away also with the unity of them all.

Therefore, revisiting *Arkzin* today is a double task. On the one hand, it means to pursue a material analysis and understanding of the emergence of that historic conjuncture of the gos, and on the other hand, while working to keep alive a potential for an alternative organization of society today, to repeat the formula that disavows the ideological substance of self-reproduction of Croatian reality: "No, I don't love Croatia!"

In this volume you will find materials necessary for analyzing and understanding the phenomenon *Arkzin* during the period it was published as a magazine – starting from the fanzine newsletter of the Anti-War Campaign Croatia in 1991 to its demise in 1998. On the DVD in this volume you will find all issues of *Arkzin* that were digitized by the effort of Nikola Mokrović, Zrinka Kolarić and Željko Ilić from the Documenta – Center for dealing with the past. For easier orientation and analysis of the digital material here you will also find a periodized fact-sheet of *Arkzin* as a publishing project.

You will also find here four Arkzin editorials that ran under the title "Was ist Arkzin", and that map out some of the recurring concerns of Arkzin, serving as orientation in the second part of this volume. Namely, the volume is also a document of the exhibition Prospects of Arkzin, that was held in Zagreb 28 May - 12 June 2013 and presented Arkzin's design work as a specific form of political and cultural contestation, and of the media action Installing the *public* that briefly brought back Arkzin to the newsstands as a supplement to the Serbian independent weekly Novosti, the Croatian edition of Le Monde Diplomatique, and the cultural bi-weekly Zarez in the period around 20 November 2013. The exhibition and action, in a combined exhibition format, would after that go on to be presented in November and December of 2013, with the help of Kuda. org and Kontrapunkt, in Novi Sad and Skopje.

Arkzin & Multimedia Institute

Uvod

H

ibridni dokument u Vašim rukama pokušaj je reaktualizacije poglavlja naše recentne povijesti koja se zove *Arkzin*. Iz današnjeg hrvatskog trenutka, kada uporno uvježbavana neupitna monolitnost 1 kapitalizma, 1 države, 1 političkog sistema, 1 nacije, 1 crkve, 1 jezika i pisma, 1 braka, taj stalni hrvatski ideološki deziderat homogenog društva konačno pa na vjeke vjekova oslobođenog od izvanjski nametnutog razdora u njegovom nacionalnom biću, puca po svim pukotinama i izdiže se kao dvoglava zvjer koja ždere samu sebe, *Arkzinov* pokušaj da se društvo, mediji, pismo misli i živi pluralno, da se na životu održi "mogućnost alternativne organizacije društva", dobiva nelagodnu aktualnost. – **Vratile su se 90-e!**

Ili prije, 90-e su uvijek tu sa nama. Događaji 90-ih zabetonirali su historijski sklop ideoloških pretpostavki, ekonomskih i političkih uređenja, formi strukturnog i simboličkog nasilja koji će se perpetuirati i međusobno reproducirati dokle god je jedinstva hrvatskog projekta. Trajno raskrstiti s bilo kojom od tih datosti pretpostavlja raskrstiti i s jedinstvom svih njih.

Stoga, reaktualizirati *Arkzin* danas ima dvostruku zadaću. S jedne strane, zadržati se na materijalnoj analizi i razumijevanju nastanka tog historijskog sklopa 90-ih, a s druge, radeći na održanju mogućnosti alernativne organizacije društva danas, ponavljati formulu koji trajno pogađa samu ideološku srž samoodržanja hrvatske zbilje: "**Ne**, **ne volim Hrvatsku!**" U ovom svesku naći ćete građu potrebnu za analizu i razumijevanje fenomena *Arkzin* u razdoblju njegovog izlaženja u formi časopisa – od fanzinskog glasila Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske 1991. godine do njegovog gašenja 1998. godine. Na DVD-u koji dolazi u svesku naći ćete sve brojeve *Arkzina* koji su digitalizirani trudom Nikole Mokrovića, Zrinke Kolarić i Željka Ilića iz Documente - Centra za suočavanje prošlosti. Za lakše snalaženje i analizu u digitalnoj građi tu je također i kraća faktografija *Arkzina* kao izdavačkog projekta po fazama njegovog izlaženja.

Tu se nalaze četiri uvodnika iz različitih brojeva Arkzina koji su objavljivani pod rubrikom "Was ist Arkzin", a mapiraju neke bitne preokupacije Arkzina i služe kao orijentir za drugi dio ove knjižice. Naime, ona je također i dokumentacija izložbe *Izgledi Arkzina,* koja je održana u Zagrebu 28.5. – 12.6.2013. i predstavila *Arkzinov* dizajn kao specifičnu formu političke i kulturne borbe, te medijske akcije *Instaliranje javnosti* kojom se *Arkzin*, kao prilog Srpskom samostalnom tjedniku *Novosti*, hrvatskom izdanju *Le Monde diplomatiquea* i dvotjedniku za kulturu *Zarez*, 20.11.2013. ponovo nakratko vratio na kioske. Izložba i akcija u kombiniranoj izložbenoj formi predstavljeni su u listopadu i studenom, uz pomoć Kuda.org i Kontrapunkta, u Novom Sadu i Skopju.

Arkzin & Multimedijalni institut

Arktizanija... za spašavanje vlastitog mentalnog zdravlja, i dajbok još koga.

....

Miroslav Ambruš-Kiš, Zagreb

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Arkzin fact sheet phases, publishers, formats, supplements...

Vesna Janković & Nikola Mokrović

ARKzin (I) fanzine

The pilot issue of *Arkzin* was published on the 25th of September 1991.

The first edition had six issues (double issues: 2/3 and 5/6), with the last issue appearing on the 7th of May 1992. On the same date an abridged German version of *Arkzin* printed in Heidelberg also appeared, where previously other issues were published in abridged form too.

Editors: Vesna Janković, Miroslav Ambruš Kiš, Zoran Oštrić (no. 1-3), Vladimir Desnica (no. 5-6)

Print run: 500 – 2000 Printing technique: offset Format: A4 Issues: 6 (two double issues 2/3 i 5/6 – total of 5 volumes) Number of pages: 16 (inaugural issue) – 36 (double issue 5/6) Distribution: fanzine style (street distribution, mail, etc.)

ARKzin (II) newspaper

The first issue of the second edition of *Arkzin*, "Fanzine of the Anti-War Campaign Croatia," appeared on the 1st of April 1992. It ran for 93 issues.

Throughout its life Arkzin changed its conceptual selfdefinition, changing from the "Magazine of the Anti-War Campaign Croatia" (no. 10, February 1994), "Megazine of the Anti-War Campaign Croatia" (no. 12, April 1994), "Megazine of the Anti-War Campaign Croatia" (br. 28, 9 December 1994), "Metazine for Civil Society Politics and Culture" (no. 66, 7 June 1996), "Memezine for Civil Society Politics and Culture" (no. 73, 13 September 1996). Starting with the issue no. 82 (17. January 1997) the cover page masthead no longer said 'Arkzin' in latin, but rather アルクジン in Japanese katakana letters

Initially a monthly, starting from the issue no. 13, *Arkzin* became a bi-weekly. Double issues: 19/20 (5. August 1994), 44/45 (28. July 1995), 70/71 (2. August 1996), 80/81 (20. December 1996) April 1993 to January 1994 saw also the publishing of eight international issues of *Arkzin* in English featuring summaries of the articles.

Supplements:

- Bosnia and Herzegovina: Human rights violations perpetrated by the Croatian and Muslim forces in central and south-east Bosnia and Herzegovina. Helsinki Watch Report, September 1993 (issue no. 6)
- George Soros: Nationalist dictatorships against the open society (issue no. 7)
- Discussion between Serbian and Croatian journalists in Europski dom in Zagreb (issue no. 10)
- Fractal (issues no. 14 & 26)
- Bulletin Speak Out newsletter of lesbian and gay action Zagreb (inaugural issue in Arkzin no. 16, 1st issue in Arkzin no. 27)

- Forceful evictions of Serbs.
 Croatian years of shame (issue no. 28)
- Bastard. Arkzin's supplement for critical writing (no. 1 in Arkzin 29, no. 2 in Arkzin 33, no. 3 in Arkzin 43, no. 4 in Arkzin 51, no. 5 in Arkzin 56)
- Supplement for science fiction, fantasy horror and related genres (issue no. 38)
- 100 years of cartoons (issue no. 44-45)
- Next5Minutes (issue no. 57)

Publisher: Anti-War Campaign Croatia, Tkalčićeva 38, Zagreb (issues no. 1-13), Anti-War Campaign Croatia, Republike Austrije, 23/I, Zagreb (issues no. 14-24), Arkzin d.o.o. Republike Austrije 23/I (issues no. 25-93).

Editors in chief: Vesna Janković (no. 1-90, publishing manager for issues no 91-93), Dejan Kršić (no. 91-93)

Printing technique: offset Format: A3 Print run: 2000 – 5000 (as a monthly, until issue no. 13), 5000 – 10000 (as a bimonthly) Distribution: newspaper stands of Tisak, bookshops

ARKzin (III) magazine

Published between 1997 and 1998, seven issues in total.

Publisher: Arkzin d.o.o. Republike Austrije 17/1, Zagreb.

Publishing manager: **Vesna** Janković, editor-in-chief: Dejan Kršić.

Printing technique: offset Format: 23x28 / 23x33 cm Issues: 7 Number of pages: 108 Print run: 3000 Distribution: newspaper stands of Tisak, bookshops

December 1998 the first issue of *Bastard* magazine is published, editor-in-chief Boris Buden.

In June 1999 the pilot issue of *Transfer — mega.zine in transition* is published, as a special edition of political pop mega.zine *Arkzin*, editor-inchief Dejan Kršić.

Faktografski o Arkzinu faze, izdavači, formati, temati...

vesna janković & nikola mokrović

ARKzin (I) fanzin

25. rujna 1991. izlazi pilot izdanje *Arkzina.*

U prvoj je ediciji objavljeno šest brojeva (dvobrojevi: 2/3 i 5/6), a posljednji broj te edicije objavljen je 7. svibnja 1992. Istoga datuma objavljeno je i sažeto njemačko izdanje *Arkzina* tiskano u Heidelbergu, gdje je prethodno objavljeno više takvih sažetaka.

UREÐIVALI: Vesna Janković, Miroslav Ambruš Kiš, Zoran Oštrić (br. 1-3), Vladimir Desnica (br. 5-6)

NAKLADA: početna 500 – 2.000 TISAK: offset FORMAT: A4 IZAŠLO BROJEVA: 6 (dva dvobroja 2/3 i 5/6 – ukupno 5 svešćića) BROJ STRANICA: 16 (nulti) – 36 (dvobroj 5/6) DISTRIBUCIJA: fanzinska (dijeljenje, pošta i sl.)

ARKzin (II) novina

1. travnja 1992. izlazi prvi broj druge edicije *Arkzina*, "Fanzina Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske". Objavljena su 93. broja.

Arkzin je vremenom mijenjao svoje konceptualno samoodređenje, pa je tako bio: "Magazin Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske" (br. 10, veljača 1994.,), "Megazin Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske" (br. 12, travanj 1994.), "Megazin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva" (br. 28, 9. prosinac 1994.), "Metazin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva" (br. 66, 7. lipanj 1996.), "Memezin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva" (br. 73., 13. rujan 1996.). Od broja 82 (17. Siječanj 1997.), na naslovnici više ne stoji Arkzin, već アルクジン japanskim katakana znakovima.

U početku izlazi kao mjesečnik, a od broja 13 kao dvotjednik. Dvobrojevi: 19/20 (5. kolovoz 1994.), 44/45 (28. srpnja 1995.), 70/71 (2. kolovoz 1996.), 80/81 (20. prosinac 1996.) Od travnja 1993. do siječnja 1994. izašlo je 8 brojeva međunarodnog izdanja Arkzina na engleskom jeziku sa sažecima tekstova.

PRILOZI:

- Bosna i Hercegovina: Kršenja ljudskih prava koje su počinile hrvatske i muslimanske snage u srednjoj i jugozapadnoj Bosni i Hercegovini. Izvještaj Helsinki Watcha, rujan 1993. (br. 6)
- George Soros: Nacionalističke diktature protiv otvorenog društva (br. 7)
- Razgovor srpskih i hrvatskih novinara u Europskom domu u Zagrebu (br. 10)
- Fractal (br. 14 i 26)
- Bilten Speak Out glasilo lezbijske i gay akcije Zagreb (br. o, *Arkzin* br. 16, broj 1, *Arkzin* br. 27)

- Deložacije. Godine hrvatske sramote (br. 28)
- Bastard. Prilog Arkzina za kritičku publicistiku (br.1, *Arkzin* br. 29, br. 2, *Arkzin* br. 33, br. 3, *Arkzin* br. 43, br. 4, *Arkzin* br. 51, br.5, *Arkzin* br. 56)
- Prilog za znanstvenu fantastiku, fantasy horor i slično (br. 38)
- 100 godina stripa (br. 44-45)
- Next5Minutes (br. 57)

IZDAVAČ: Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske, Tkalčićeva 38, Zagreb (br. 1-13), Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske, Republike Austrije, 23/I, Zagreb (br. 14-24), Arkzin d.o.o. Republike Austrije 23/I (br. 25-93).

GLAVNI UREDNICI: Vesna Janković (br. 1-90, a zatim direktorica br. 91-93), Dejan Kršić (br. 91-93)

TISAK: offset FORMAT: A3 TIRAŽA: 2.000 – 5.000 (mjesečnik, do broja 13), 5.000 - 10.000 (dvotjednik) DISTRIBUCIJA: Tisak, knjižare

ARKzin (III) magazin

Izlazi od 1997. do 1998. godine, izašlo sedam brojeva.

Izdavač: Arkzin d.o.o. Republike Austrije 17/1, Zagreb.

Direktorica: Vesna Janković, glavni urednik: Dejan Kršić.

TISAK: offset FORMAT: 23x28 / 23x33 cm TIRAŽA: 3.000 DISTRIBUCIJA: Tisak, knjižare

U prosincu 1998. godine izlazi prvi broj časopisa *Bastard*, glavni urednik Boris Buden.

U lipnju 1999. godine izlazi nulti broj *Transfera – mega. zina u tranziciji*, kao posebno izdanje političkog pop mega.zina *Arkzin*, glavni urednik Dejan Kršić. Važna uloga u medijskor fanzin Antiratne kampar na kraju završio kao mje aktualnu politiku te doni događala, a koja su služi ekologije, feminizma, LG praksama novomedijske opisani arkzinovski prist.



evedesetih pripala je Arkzinu koji je prvot se potom razvio u dvotjednik (1993–1997, Pored sadržaja koji je "propitivao i kritizi rmacije o kršenjima ljudskih prava koja s enzurirali" Arkzin je pokrivao teme iz por ture, a hrvatsku je javnost drzao u dotica jarodnoj sceni. Klaudio Štefancić istice d miješaju i prepliću politiku, kulturu i umj

predstavljali novost u hrvatskom kulturnom, društvenom i medijskom prostoru. — Dea Vidović, Nezavisna kultura u Hrvatskoj (1990













Važna uloga u me Fanzin Antiratne na kraju završio aktualnu politiku događala, a koja ekologije, Femini praksama novom opisani arkzinovs predstavljali novo





Bastard & Transfer

the Rhetori

BAST

Breating the barders

edijskom prostoru tijekom devedesetih pripala je Arkzinu koji je prvotno bio kampanje (1991–1992.) da bi se potom razvio u dvotjednik (1993–1997.), a kao mjesećnik (1997–1999.). Pored sadržaja koji je "propitivao i kritizirao te donosio i tzv. kontra-informacije o kršenjima ljudskih prava koja su se su službeni mediji potpuno cenzurirali" Arkzin je pokrivao teme iz područja zma, LGTB-zajednice, DIY-kulture, a hrvatsku je javnost držao u doticaju s edijske umjetnosti na međunarodnoj sceni. Klaudio Štefančić ističe da su ki pristup i odabir tema koji miješaju i prepliću politiku, kulturu i umjetnost ost u hrvatskom kulturnom, društvenom i medijskom prostoru.

- Dea Vidović, Nezavisna kultura u Hrvatskoj (1990-2010.)



Arkzin je bio vizuelno ogledalo naših devedesetih, poligon za (ne samo) dizajnersku borbu. Vrata za ulaz i prozor za bežanje. I, da, u jednom trenutku me je skoro ubedio da je Moderna umrla.

Borut Vild, Beograd

arkzin – meta.zine za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva, no. 66, 7 June 1996, p. 2

Was ist Arkzin [4]

In an interview with the chief editor of номо VOLANS [link p. 28], their desire for a "central" position is explicitly expressed: "We are something really central... the spirit of mainstream ... " In the editorial of HV's first issue, this is interpreted as the position FOR тирмам as the legally elected president of all Croats, and AGAINST TUDMAN as the dictator... But as MARCEL **ŠTEFANČIĆ JR.** has emphasized in his text on Toy Story, a-political is not something that is not involved in politics (but rather in culture, for example), but something that seeks to adopt all the various, mutually opposed positions at the same time ("We bring everything in one place"!). That is a position that is blind for ideological differences, which does not see them nor does it want to see them. Which believes that it is somehow possible to be "the president of all Croats" without being a "totalitarian" at the same time!

To be sure, it is a rather comfortable position indeed. All differences appear here simply as differences in character, nature, personality. Here every conflict is personalized!

ARKZIN, on the contrary, is not fascinated with the centre and does not intend to fight for a central position in the society, for a privileged place of the so-called objective truth, allegedly accessible by adopting a "professional" approach. Our place is the political alternative, the social margin, the dynamics of subculture.

ARKZIN has no predefined ideological, political, or cultural position, not even that of the civil society, because we think that the civil society does not have a single or unified political, cultural, ideological etc. position. We do not believe that in a modern society it is even still possible to construct a cultural, ideological, or political position that could be representative of the society as a whole. We understand the civil society as grassroots, a rhizome, a network, a web of different interests, positions, and political, ideological, and cultural attitudes... It is not a non-conflicting totality, since it is not a "totality" at all: it is individual, particular, specific. The civil society

arkzin – meta.zine za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva, br. 66, 7.6.1996., str. 2

WAS IST ARKZIN [4]

U interviewu s glavnim urednikom **Homo Volansa** [<u>link</u> <u>str. 28</u>], eksplicira se njihova želja za "središnjim" položajem: "*Mi*

smo nešto što je zaista središnje... duh mainstreama..." U uvodniku prvog broja HV-a to je eksplicirano kao stav ZA Tuđmana legalno izabranog predsjednika svih Hrvata, PROTIV Tuđmana diktatora... No, kao što je u tekstu o filmu TOY STORY napisao Marcel Štefancić jr. apolitično nije ono što se ne bavi politikom (nego recimo kulturom!) već ono što u jednom potezu pokušava preuzeti sve različite, međusobno suprotne pozicije (*"Mi sve* stavljamo na jedno mjesto"!). To je pozicija koja je slijepa za ideološke razlike, ne vidi ih i ne želi ih vidjeti. Koja smatra da je nekako moguće biti "predsjednik svih Hrvata" a istovremeno ne biti "totalitarist"!

Istovremeno, to je dosta i doista udobna pozicija. Tu se sve razlike javljaju kao, eto, tek razlike karaktera, naravi, ličnosti. Tu se svaki sukob personalizira!

arkzin nasuprot tome nije fasciniran središtem ni u kojem pogledu niti se namjerava boriti za neku središnju poziciju u društvu, za neko privilegirano mjesto tzv. <u>objektivne istine</u> navodno dostupne "profesionalnim" pristupom. Naše mjesto je politička alternativa, društvena margina, dinamika subkulture.

arkzin nema neku unaprijed zadanu ideološku, političku i kulturnu poziciju, pa čak ni onu civilnog društva, zato što mislimo da civilno društvo nema jednu i jedinstvenu političku, kulturnu, ideološku etc. poziciju. Ne vjerujemo da je u modernom društvu uopće još moguće konstruirati neku kulturnu, ideološku i političku poziciju koja bi mogla biti reprezentativna za cijelo društvo. Civilno društvo shvaćamo kao grassroots, kao rhizom, kao network, kao mrežu, kao web različitih interesa, pozicija, političkih, ideoloških i kulturnih stavova... Nije riječ o nekonfliktnoj cjelini, jer uopće i nije riječ o "cjelini", već o individualnom, partikularnom, posebnom. Na civilnodruštvenoj sceni tako postoje i nacionalističke, i konzervativne, i reakcionarne pozicije, kao što i unutar tih grupa postoje sukobi za moć, novac, utjecaj, društveni ugled...

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scene thus also contains nationalist, conservative, and reactionary positions, just like within these groups there are conflicts for power, money, influence, and social esteem...

Therefore, the civil society is not a value in itself (for example, even this kind of state that we have protects us partly from the absolute madness and terror of various pro-life organizations!), but the potential of organizing the society in a different way - and that is the potential that ARKZIN keeps open, relating to it in freedom - it does not merely register ideas, it does not represent ready-made positions, but creates positions, supports various lifestyles, cultural and artistic projects. Primarily those that cannot come to light in other places – as they are radical, non-commercial, insufficiently "professional" etc.

> The dinosaur-like mass media of the corporate, pseudostate-owned and sensationalist press have not much credibility left with the younger generation. In accordance with their nature, these large mass media intentionally avoid, keep silent about, or act ignorantly towards a number of different names, phenomena, issues, and approaches. They think they know what interests the readership and keep imposing those things upon people.

> In terms of seeking to present and promote radical, alternative, avant-garde, and cuttingedge ideas, ARKZIN is also still a fanzine - because a fanzine never has the duty to satisfy everything and everyone (after all, ERMIN [link pp. 29/30] reminded us of the following quotation: "If the press

brought only what does not offend anyone, it would bring fairly little!") We believe that it is only in this form, distant from all dinosaurlike, mainstream media, that new ideas, names, people, and notions have a chance...

Nevertheless, ARKZIN is no longer an ordinary fanzine, neither in its content nor in its form it is a MEGA-ZINE or even a META-ZI-NE. ARKZIN is fully aware of its position, expressing it clearly and offering it for debate. It also presents the activity of other fanzines, other marginal groups and organizations...

Media such as ARKZIN call for interactivity - for communication - not only inviting you to send us letters, comments, texts, disks, tapes, images, or fonts... but also to start acting as activists in your own community. Initiate local actions, petitions, self-help groups, rehab communes, start your own band, a fanzine, a local newspa-

per, a local pirate radio station, make your own TV by using a home video camera and a VHS video player! Squat in a building that has been standing empty and decaying for years. And such things will always find a place in ARKZIN.

ARKZIN reveals the cracks and seams in an apparently seamless construction of reality in the mainstream media. Monolithic ideology is shattered in pieces, images and icons get mixed. Sound, word, image, graphics... everything is cut up, collaged, scratched... here everything is mixed and dubbed... The unified text becomes a permanently open *hypertext*. Stoga civilno društvo nije vrijednost po sebi (recimo, čak i ovakva država djelomično nas štiti od potpunog ludila i terora raznih pro-life organizacija!), ali je <u>mogućnost drugačije organizacije društva</u> - tu mogućnost **arkzin** drži otvorenom i odnosi se prema njoj na način slobode - ne registrira tek sadržaje, ne reprezentira već gotove stavove, nego proizvodi pozicije, podupire određene stilove života, kulturne i artističke projekte. Prvenstveno one koji drugdje ne mogu doći do izražaja kao radikalni, nekomercijalni, nedovoljno "profesionalni" itd.

[•] Dinosauruski mediji korporativnog, podjednako paradržavnog kao i senzacionalističkog tiska nemaju puno kredibiliteta kod mlade generacije. Zbog svoje prirode ti veliki mediji namjerno zaobilaze, prešucuju, ili se ponašaju ignorantski prema nizu imena, pojava, tema, pristupa. Oni misle da znaju što čitatelje zanima i to im uporno naturaju.

U smislu težnje za prezentiranjem i promoviranjem radikalnih, alternativnih, avangardnih, cutting-edge ideja **arkzin** je još uvijek i fanzin - jer fanzin nikad nema obavezu zadovoljiti sve i svakoga (uostalom, **Ermin** [Link <u>str.29/30</u>] nam je ukazao na citat "Kad bi se tiskalo samo ono što nikoga neće uvrijediti malo bi stvari bilo tiskano!"). Mislimo da jedino u takvoj formi, obliku udaljenom od dinosauruskih <u>mainstream</u> medija nove ideje, imena, ljudi, pojmovi, imaju šansu...

No ni po sadržaju ni po formi **arkzin** nije više običan fanzin - to je **Mega-zin** ili čak **meta-zin**. **arkzin** ima jasnu svijest o svojoj poziciji, jasno je izražava i problematizira. Prezentira i djelovanje drugih fanzina, drugih marginalnih skupina, organizacija....

Mediji poput **arkzin**-a pozivaju na <u>interaktivnost</u> - na komunikaciju - ne samo time da nam se javite svojim pismima, komentarima, tekstovima, disketama, kasetama, slikama, fontovima... već i da se počnete ponašati <u>aktivistički u vlastitoj</u> <u>sredini</u>. Pokrenite lokalne akcije, peticije, grupe samopomoći, komune za odvikavanje od ovisnosti, vlastiti band, fanzin, lokalne novine, lokalne piratske radio stanice, kućnom VHS video kamerom i playerom napravite vlastitu televiziju! Squattirajte prostor koji godinama zjapi prazan i propada. I u **arkzin**-u će takve stvari uvijek naći svoje mjesto.

arkzin otkriva pukotine, šavove na prividno bešavnoj konstrukciji realnosti mainstream medija. Monolitna ideolgija tako se raspada na sastavne dijelove, slike, ikone se miješaju jedna s drugom. Zvuk, riječ, slika, grafika... se cut-upira, kolažira, scratcha... Tu je sve u miksu, dubu... Cjeloviti tekst pretvara se u vječno otvoreni hypertext



Bastard & Transfer

left

hand of

Shari

Breaking down borders

the Rhe



kom prostoru tijekom devedesetih pripala je Arkzinu ko panje (1991–1992.) da bi se potom razvio u dvotjednik (N njesečnik (1997–1999.). Pored sadržaja koji je "propitivaj ponosio i tzv. kontra-informacije o kršenjima ljudskih pra užbeni mediji potpuno cenzurirali" Arkzin je pokrivao ten LGTB-zajednice, DIY-kulture, a hrvatsku je javnost držao u dotica ke umjetnosti na međunarodnoj sceni. Klaudio Štefančić ističe da istup i odabir tema koji miješaju i prepliću politiku, kulturu i umje hrvatskom kulturnom, društvenom i medijskom prostoru. – Dea Vidović, Nezavisna kultura u Hrvatskoj (1990–2



Politički preuranjen, dizajnerski prenabrijan, Arkzin unutar scene nezavisne periodike 1990-ih zauzima sasvim izdvojeno mjesto. Istodobno jedan od vodećih glasova suprotstavljenih nacionalističkom državnom aparatu i sinonim za radikalni grafički eksperiment u novinskom izdavaštvu. Prije no što je postala središnjim objektom neomodernističke dizajnerske reakcije ranih 00-ih, inovativna grafičko-urednička koncepcija Arkzina poslužila kao ishodišni model nebrojenim nezavisnim izdanjima širom ex-yu teritorija.

Željko Serdarević, Zagreb / Zrenjanin

arkzin — babozin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva, no. 74, 27 September 1996, p. 2

Was ist Arkzin [11]

... D FOR DESIGN!

Rudy Van der Lans, editor of the radical and influential magazine for design and typography *Emigre*, which we have mentioned more than once in ARKZIN, once wrote: "The only people who have problems reading *Emigre* are the graphic designers!"

We may paraphrase this and say: The only people who have problems reading Arkzin are the professional journalists! Unlike the "ordinary readers", the socalled people in the trade expect a newspaper to look in a certain way - which they find familiar - to be edited in a way they are used to as journalists and editors, they expect things to be written in a standard way - as they are afraid of complexity [hey, that's too difficult, you can't put that in a newspaper...] and they persistently worry about "legibility".

Yet the "ordinary" readers even if that description covers very different, heterogeneous and unrelated groups of people - do not have the same expectations. Newspapers are not read in a linear way — people get immersed and swim in the currents of texts, letters, sentences, graphic elements, symbols...

A slogan that the typography of the 1990s used in its struggle against the modernist ideology of the "Swiss school of design" says that Bauhaus's school of typography "mistook legibility with communication."

Faced with the critique that their fonts are illegible, *Emigre's* designers stated that there was no such thing as an illegible typescript! If a typescript consists of letters, then it is legible. If it is illegible, it is not letters.

The sentence of Erik Spiekermann "You cannot not communicate" is often quoted by David Carson, a designer famous for his radical design of the music magazine RAYGUN - let us recall the popular story of his text on Brian Ferry which consisted of [*O*+3] three pages of ornaments! Carson did not leave RAYGUN willingly: he was fired by the editors who wanted to transform the magazine into something "serious" and "respectable".

Even these newspaper professionals could not understand that the content and significance of a newspaper does not consist solely of texts and sensationalist headlines and

arkzin – babozin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva, br. 74, 27.9.1996., str. 2

WAS IST ARKZIN [11]

Urednik radikalnog i utjecajnog u **arkzinu** više puta spominjanog dizajnerskotipografskog magazina **Emilgre Rudy Van Der Lans,** jednom je prilikom napisao: "Jedini koji imaju problema s čitanjem

Emigree su grafički dizajneri!"

Možemo to parafrazirati i reći: <u>Jedini koji imaju</u> problema s čitanjem Arkzina su profesionalni <u>novinari</u>! Za razliku od "običnih čitatelja" tzv. ljudi iz struke očekuju da novine izgledaju na određeni - njima dobro poznat - način, da se uređuju na način na koji su kao novinari i urednici oni sami navikli, očekuju da se u njima piše na standardan način - boje se kompleksnosti [*ej*, *to je preteško, nije ti to za novine...*], i uporno brinu o "čitljivosti".

Ali "obični" čitatelji - ma koliko ta odrednica pokrivala raznolike, potpuno nejedinstvene i nepovezane skupine nemaju takva očekivanja. Novine se ne čitaju linearno - u njih se uranja i pliva u strujama teksta, slova, rečenica, grafičkih elemenata, simbola...

Slogan kojim se tipografija 90ih obračunavala s modernističkom ideologijom "švicarske škole dizajna", glasi da je Bauhausova škola tipografije pobrkala čitljivost s komunikacijom – **Bauhaus mistook legibility** with communication.

Kad im prigovaraju kako su im fontovi nečitljivi dizajneri Emigrea ustvrde kako ne postoji nešto kao što je nečitljiv tip slova! Ako su slova, onda su čitljiva. Ono što je nečitljivo nije slovo. leads, but also resides in the mode of presentation, layout, graphic and typographic interventions.

Were ARKZIN's content presented in the same way as that of the local political tabloids - how and where would we express the difference in our attitudes, ideas, out ideological options?

Our benevolent critics usually say: but more people would read you, and your ideas would reach a wider public, you would have more social impact. Yes, perhaps, but how would that impact be different from that of *Globus* and *Nacional*? Must we really reduce everything to the smallest common denominator, drown everything in the greyness of universally accepted, mediocre, mainstream positions? Typographic uniformity and apparent typographic neutrality imposes the belief that everything is being uttered in one, unified and MONOLITHIC VOICE - the voice of a single class, a single political option.

By introducing a typographic variety, different fonts and letter sizes, words written in bold and italic and underlined, we bring in the richness of speech, the effect of dialogue, the multiplicity of different voices.

Occasionally ARKZIN even looks too conventional for our taste - but that only indicates that, unfortunately, you cannot reject all compromise.

Only, that compromise should not [ಾ��≎⊡≭©ෲ☆] Rečenicu Erika Spiekermanna ໃບປີ ເອລັດ ຄະເບີ ກູພໂ ເພເກເກີນເມື່ອເອເຊັນ cesto citira i David Carson, dizajner koji se proslavio radikalnim oblikovanjem glazbenog časopisa RAYGUN - već je klasična priča kako je tekst o Bryanu Ferryju složio iz **ສອງສ**

★★■★○●▼▲● tri stranice ornamenata! Carson nije sam otišao iz RAYGUNa, novinski urednici su ga otjerali kad su poželjeli postati "ozbiljna" i "utjecajna" novina.

Ni ti novinski profesionalci nisu shvatili kako sadržaj i značenje novine ne leže samo u tekstovima ili senzacionalističkoj opremi, vec i u načinu prezentacije, lay outu, grafičkim i tipo^graf_skim intervencijama.

Ako bi **arkzinovi** sadržaji bili prezentirani na isti način kao u domaćim političkim tabloidima - kako i gdje bi se pojavljivala razlika naših stavova, ideja, naših ideoloških opcija?

Obično dobronamjerni kritičari kažu - ali više bi se čitali, pa bi vaše ideje dospjele do šireg čitateljstva, ostvarili bi veći društveni utjecaj. Da, možda, ali u čemu bi se taj utjecaj razlikovao od onoga **GLOBUSA** i **NACIONALA**? Zar se baš sve mora svesti na najniži zajednički nazivnik, utopiti u sivilo općeprihvaćenih, mediokritetskih, mainstream stavova?

Tipografska unif Ormnost, prividna tipografska neutralnost, nameće shvaćanje kako se sve govori jednim, jedinstvenim, MONOLITNIM GLASOM - glasom jedne klase, jedne nacije jedne političke opcije.

Uvođenje t ipografske raznolikosti, različitih fontova, veličina pisma, podebljanih i kurziviranih i potcrtanih riječi, unosi b ogatstvo govora, dijaloški efekt, višestrukost riazličitih glasova.

Ponekad za nas ukus i **arkzin** izgleda previše konvencionalno - ali to je samo pokazatelj kako se, nažalost, bez nekog kompromisa ipak ne može.

Samo taj kompromis ne smije □◇■* □□□▲♥□□ ◆ *◆*□*Q◆◎ ☆Q□ 0♥□ ** IQ ◆□***0* □●♥Φ ◆I ■****□◇ □◇■□○□ ♥□*□*0 ↓ □ **□◆0♥**□○ *□□▲*□○ ↓ □○***■□○ ↓ ↓ *□◇0♥↓ ** ↓ □▲■** ↓ □□↓ ↓ □○↓ ↓ ↓ E*○◆*↓ □◇■◆ *□■♥□□●◆ ■◆* IO*↓↓ ↓ E*○◆*↓ □◇■◆ *□■♥□□●◆ ■◆* IO*↓↓↓ @□○***▼*↓↓ ■*□◆■□▲▼*@\$ * *↓↓ @□○***▼*↓↓ ■*□◆■□▲▼*@\$ * *↓↓↓ @□○***▼*↓↓ ■*□◆■□▲▼*@\$ * *↓↓↓ @□□● □●I◆○**▼*@\$ \$ ■*○◆ * ■* ○□9* O*♥* ■**↓↓ □□000**↓ ↓

br**uju sedem denetičeti si na vavade se teed**mi deveti

АПУ ППАПАААВУФ АФУЛФТА ААФФАА ПФ





Budući da je rodno mjesto Arkzina bila široko shvaćena alternativna scena, oblikovana ne samo specificnim političkim diskursom, nego i glazbenim, vizualnim, medijskim, meni je bilo bitno da radikalni politički sadržaj postavimo upravo unutar tog senzibiliteta. Uvelike zahvaljujući dizajnu ta se politička poruka nije smjestala unutar tradicionalne medijsko-političke paradigme, nego je postala izraz diskursa jedne nove generacije. Odnosno, Arkzin nije bio samo "opozicijski" medij, nego i generator nove medijske kulture. – Vesna Janković, 2010.









kijučno pitanje donas je kaka izgraditi transnocionalni politički pokret i institucije dovaljno jeke do ozbiljno sgraniče nodbuzdanu vladovinu kapitaj

čini se kako nem je donos lokše zamislit "kraj svijetu", glabolnu okolešku katuatroj nego promjenu načina proizvadnje, otornativu kapitelističkom sistemu

Uf, šta da ti kažem, skupljalo se ga ko Alana Forda. Dizajnom je šamarao one koji su ga čitali.

> Ermin Međedović, Ljubljana

arkzin — afrozin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva, no. 87, 28 March 1997, p. 2-3

Was ist Arkzin [23] Looking Awry

It is now, before the coming elections, that we should remind our readership of the specific attitude of ARKZIN towards the sphere of the political. Some rare or perhaps rarely loyal readers will recall that this attitude has not always been the same! On the contrary, in its dealings with explicitly political issues ARKZIN seems to have passed through at least three distinct phases. This is a rough classification, of course, a sort of preliminary or auxiliary construction that helps us understand our present position and our identity.

First of all, our earliest phase was influenced by the clear ideological position of the recently established newspaper of ANTI-WAR CAMPAIGN and various activist groups, which in Croatia were the nucleus of the civil society. At that time, ARKZIN saw itself as a part of the political sphere, as one of the political and ideological actors in the public. What was going on in our newspaper at the time was primarily an open political struggle. The nation's political life was subjected to a substantial political critique. The agent of that critique was aware of the importance and outstanding significance of its extra-parliamentary, and therefore extra-party (op-)position, which ensured its political identity to the largest possible extent. Its aim was to raise the public awareness of anti-war efforts and the issues related to human rights at large. The main object of the critique was politics as the effect/ cause of war.

The second phase was marked by something we may call the phantasms of journalistic professionalization. ARKZIN saw itself as the extra-political, public regulator of political life. Its position was unquestionably that of offering the so-called objective information. Its ideological stance – the formerly loudly proclaimed values of civil society and pacifism – had become implicit and was often endorsed by pathetically moralizing professional journalists as the incorruptible analysts of the objective, factual reality.

arkzin – afrozin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva, br. 87, 28.3.1997., str. 2-3

WAS IST ARKZIN [23]

Upravo sada pred skore izbore valja podsjetiti čitateljstvo na specifičan odnos koji **arkzin** ima prema sferi političkog. Oni rijetki, ili bolje, rijetko vjerni, čitatelji prisjetit će se da taj odnos nije uvijek bio isti! Štoviše, čini se da je **arkzin** u svom bavljenju eksplicitno političkim temama prošao najmanje tri faze. Dakako, riječ je o gruboj podjeli, nekoj vrsti privremene pomoćne konstrukcije koja nam pomaže u samorazumijevanju naše današnje pozicije i identiteta.

Intelektualna kooperativa Bastard

Piše:

Prvo, najranije razdoblje obilježeno je jasnom ideološkom pozicijom tek rođenog glasila **aniratne kampanje** i aktivističkih grupacija koje u Hrvatskoj sačinjavaju nukleus civilnog društva. **arkzin** shvaća u to vrijeme sebe kao dio političke sfere,

kao jednog od političko-ideoloških faktora na javnoj sceni. Ono što se u našoj novini tada odvija jest na prvom mjestu otvorena politička borba. Tadašnji politički život nacije podvrgnut je imanentnoj,

ed iskosa

političkoj kritici. Subjekt te kritike svjestan je važnosti i izuzetnog značenja svoje vanparlamentarne, dakle i vanstranačke (o)pozicije koja u najvećoj mjeri osigurava i njegov politički identitet. Njegov cilj je senzibilizirati javnost za antiratnu stvar odnosno u najširem zmislu za problematiku ljudskih prava. Glavni predmet njegove kritike jest politika kao efekt/uzrok rata.

Druga faza obilježena je - nazovimo to tako fantazmom novinarske profesionalizacije. **arkzin** vidi sebe na javnoj sceni kao izvanpolitičkog regulatora političkog života. Pozicija s koje nastupa je neupitno stajalište takozvanog objektivnog informiranja. Ideološki stav - ranije glasno isticane vrijednosti civilnog društva i pacifizma - postaje implicitan i zastupa ga često patetično moralizirajući profesionalni novinar kao nepotkupljivi analitičar objektivne činjenične stvarnosti.

Abandoning the phantasms

At that time, ARKZIN even came to the idea of perhaps succeeding in the completely wild Croatian newspaper market. Upon entering the race against the powerful and unscrupulous competition, which was, of course, completely unfair, its ideological identity was suddenly experienced as an obsolete ideological burden! An example: the feminist aversion against the photos of naked women. There was now an openly expressed opinion that publishing such photos (the so-called 'babes') would certainly raise the sales!

In this second phase, politics was subjected to a pragmatic analysis: on the one hand, inclination and disinclination were clearly divided between various public political en-

> tities, that is, persons and parties, while on the other hand, the question of ideological premises on which the entire political scene in Croatia was based was largely suppressed. ARKZIN was increasingly becoming just another Croatian political magazine, rather than the media project of the civil society. The sharp demarcation line separating ARKZIN from mainstream magazines had become blurred, while its identity among the Croatian printed media was gradually dissolving into thin air.

> The third phase started with finally abandoning the phantasm of journalistic professionalism, followed by a revitalization of the hybrid nature of ARKZIN's project. That turning point may seem as a pure act of conformism, that is, as reconciliation with the marginal position that the newspaper had held in the Croatian public from the outset. However, it was an act that resulted from a conscious de

cision, an expression of sensibility towards the tension between the high & low spheres in the cultural, political, and generally social sense, a sensibility which had been present in ARKZIN from its first issue as a constitutive element of its identity. The fear of marginality is nothing but conformism with regard to the centre! Whatever is socially, politically, culturally, or economically peripheral is symbolically central at the same time.

Moreover, marginalization is never *only* marginalization. There is always someone or something that makes it marginal, pushes it to the periphery, excludes or rejects it. By that act of exclusion, that someone or something constitutes its identity. By rejecting ARKZIN with derision, mockery, or despise as a sort of hybrid misfit of the media, the newspaper professionals happily assert their position in the social

hierarchy, generating their exclusive class identity, their false super-political position as the only true mediators of the independent public, and thus the very condition of the democratic society. The elitist national culture excludes with ignorance from the cultural sphere, to which it claims an exclusive right, all those topics of popular and mass culture that ARKZIN has been pushing under its nose not only as equally valuable, but also as something that is culturally more productive and more creative. and in any case far more suitable for the contemporary society. The national cultural elite, as a social class and an institutional network. uses this exclusion of filthy, low hybrid topics offered by the cultural platform to identify itself as the authentic representative of the very substance of our national culture in its pure,

Napuštanje Fantazmi

U arkzinu se tada čak javlja i ideia o mogućem uspiehu na potpuno podivljalom hrvatskom novinskom tržištu. U. razumije se, neravnopravnoj utrci s moćnim beskrupuloznim konkurentima, ideološki se identitet novine naiednom doživliuje kao suvišni uteg! Primier: feministička averzija prema fotografijama golih žena. Otvoreno je naime izražen stav da bi obiavliivanie takvih fotografija (tzv. pičojneri!) matematski sigurno podiglo tiražu!

Politika je u toj drugoj fazi predmet pragmatične analize: s jedne strane, simpatije i antipatije jasno su raspodijeljene među javnim političkim faktorima, dakle, osobama i strankama, dok je s druge Istrane potpuno potisnuto

pitanje o ideološkim pretpostavkama na kojima počiva čitava politička scena u Hrvatskoj. **arkzin** sve više postaje hrvatski politički magazin, a sve manje medijski projekt civilnog društva. Oštra demarkacija spram mainstreama otupljuje a **arkzinov** se identitet u hrvatskom medijskom prostoru postepeno rasplinjuje.

Treća faza započinje definitivnim napuštanjem fantazme novinarskog profesionalizma i revitalizacijom hibridne naravi **arkzin**-projekta. Ta točka obrata izgleda kao čisto konformistički stav, naime kao pomirenje s marginalnom pozicijom koju novina na hrvatskoj javnoj sceni otpočetka zauzima. Ali riječ je o aktu koji je rezultat svjesnog izbora. Izraz senzibiliteta za napetost između high & low sfere u kulturnom, političkom i općedruštvenom smislu, senzibiliteta koji je prisutan u novini od prvog broja i koji je konstitutivni dio njena identiteta. Sam strah od marginalnosti nije ništa drugo nego konformizam centra! Ono što je socijalno, politički, kulturno, tržišno periferno istodobno je simbolički centralno.

Povrh toga, marginalizaciia nikada nije samo marginalizacija. Uvijek postoji netko tko, ili nešto što marginalizira, gura na periferiju, isključuje ili odbacuje. U tom aktu iskliučenia tai netko ili to nešto konstituira svoj identitet. Odbacujući arkzin uz podsmijeh, sprdniu i omalovažavanie kao neku vrstu hibridnog mediiskog nedonoščeta, novinarski profesionalci uživaju u potvrdi svoje zanatske superiornosti, ali ujedno i učvršćuju svoj položaj u socijalnoj hijerarhiji i tako proizvode tek svoj ekskluzivni staleški identitet, svoju lažnu nadpolitičku poziciju kao jedini pravi medijatori nezavisne iavnosti, a time i samog uvieta mogućnosti demokratskog društva. Elitna nacionalna kultura s ignorancijom isključuje iz kulturne sfere, na koju polaže ekskluzivno pravo, sve one sadržaje popularne i masovne kulture koje arkzin toj eliti gura pod nos ne samo kao jednakovriiedne, nego i kao nešto što je upravo u kulturnom smislu produktivnije i kreativnije, odnosno u svakom slučaju daleko primierenije suvremenosti. Nacionalna kulturna elita, kao društveni sloi i instituciiska mreža, upravo u iskliučeniu ovih prljavih, hibridnih sadržaja low kulturnog pogona identificira sebe kao autentičnog prezentanta same supstancije nacionalne kulture, u njenom čistom, high, vidu i time se nudi političkoj eliti kao niena ideološka rezerva. mandarinski čuvar esencije nacionalnog identiteta. I naposljetku, parlamentarna, stranačka politika prokazujući arkzinovo bavljenje izvanparlamentarnim, ideološkim, općecivilnodruštvenim temama,

highbrow aspect, thereby offering itself to the political elite as its ideological reserve force, a mandarin-like guardian of the essence of national identity. Eventually, by denouncing ARKZIN's involvement in extra-parliamentary, ideological, and generally civil-social issues. such as human rights or NGO-related problems, that is, with dealings that are politically infantile and unworthy of a mature political agent, the parliamentary party politics has demonstrated its claim to a monopoly over the political reality of our society, establishing its identity as its exclusive mediator (and producer). And one should certainly not forget our untouchable and sacred COMMON CROATIAN MAN (CCM), who is a fervent patriot, the direct descendant of the glorious, thousand-year old history and culture, who has been spewing

> spittle on ARKZIN juicily and with no restraint, denouncing it as a Yugo-nostalgic-chetnik-faggotlesbian-narco-atheist-mercenary paper, thus exercising in the cheapest and simplest way his racial (and racist) purity and ideological orthodoxy, his holy and indubitable loyalty to the Croatian cause.

> But the level of symbolism on which these official, pure Croatian identities are formed by means of exclusion - identities of the professionally produced independent public, the cultural-intellectual and political elites, the ethnically pure popular masses, etc. - is not the only one. Namely, on the next level it automatically produces a parallel series of hybrid (filthy, lowly, rejected, grotesque, hated, etc.) identities. That second level is the level of the politically unconscious, the level of dialogical, imaginary creation of bastard identities. The very process

of excluding the filthy, the lowly, and the repulsive is always also the production of that filthy, lowly, and repulsive as one's own Other, which means its return in the form of an object of nostalgia, longing, and fascination. For the object of utmost repulsion is often unconsciously the object of utmost suppressed desire.

Sublime Croatian ideals

So, there are no pure identities and thus no pure identity of the political sphere. Therefore, in its third phase ARKZIN sought for politics everywhere but in politics as such. First of all, it was in culture, in the sphere of the so-called cultural struggle, in the domain of most intense symbolic production of the society, in the most vigorous semantic field in which the discourse of social hegemony is produced.

ARKZIN's looking awry at the social phenomena finds its expression in this issue as well. It is about the political engagement of volunteers and disabled veterans of the Croatian Liberation War in their specific political struggle. For this social group intends to participate in the coming elections as a genuine political party. In that phenomenon, ARKZIN sees an interesting political turn.

These are, namely, individuals who occupy a central place on the symbolical level - as the very essence of sacred sacrifice for the national cause, in terms of value they are the highest degree of human existence in today's Croatia - and at the same time those who actually feel marginalized, pushed to the periphery, rejected, even repulsive and unacknowledged. They believe that this gap will be closed

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ljudskim pravima i NGO-problematikom jednom u političkom smislu infantilnom rabotom, nedostojnom zrelog političkog djelatnika, demonstrirala je svoj monopol na političku realnost društva i tako uspostavljala svoj identitet isključivog posredovatelja (i proizvoditelja) te političke stvarnosti. I dakako, da ne zaboravimo na našeg nedodirljivog, presvetog **Malog Hrvatskog Covjeka** (MHČ), iskrenog domoljuba, izravnog potomka tisućljetne slavne povijesti i kulture koji je seljački zdravo cijelo vrijeme masno pljuvao po **arkzinu** kao jugonostalgičarsko-četničko-pedersko-lezbijskonarkomansko-ateističko-stranoplaćeničkom glasilu i tako na najjeftiniji i najjednostavniji način egzercirao svoju rasnu (i rasističku) čistoću i ideološku pravovjernost, svetu i neupitnu odanost hrvatskoj stvari.

Ali razina simboličkog na kojoj posredstvom isključenja nastaju oficijelni, čisti hrvatski identiteti - oni profesionalno proizvedene nezavisne javnosti, kulturnointelektualne i političke elite, etnički čiste narodne mase itd. - nije jedina. Ona naime na drugoj razini automatski proizvodi paralelni niz hibridnih (prljavih, niskih, odbačenih, grotesknih, omraženih itd) identiteta. Ta druga razina, razina je politički nesvjesnog, razina dijaloške, imaginarne tvorbe bastardnih identiteta. Sam proces iskliučenja onog prljavog, niskog i odbojnog je uvijek ujedno i proizvodnja tog prljavog, niskog i odboinog kao vlastitog Drugog, a to znači i njegov povratak u obliku objekta nostalgije, čežnje i fascinacije, Jer ono što je predmet najveće odbojnosti, najčešće je nesviesno i predmet snažne potisnute želje.

<u>Sublimni hrvatski</u> ideali

Nema dakle čistih identiteta, pa tako ni čistog identiteta političke sfere. Stoga **arkzin** u svojoj trećoj fazi traži politiku svuda osim u politici samoj. A najprije u kulturi, u sferi takozvane kulturne borbe, u domeni najintenzivnije simboličke proizvodnje društva, u najživljem semantičkom polju na kojem se reproducira diskurs društvene hegemonije.

Taj **arkzinov** pogled iskosa na društvene fenomene nalazi svoj predmet i u ovom broju. Riječ je o slučaju političkog angažiranja dragovoljaca, invalida Domovinskog rata u konkretnoj stranačkoj borbi. Ova društvena grupa misli naime izaći na skore izbore kao prava politička partija. U toj pojavi **arkzin** vidi zanimljiv društveni lom.

on the level of high politics, that they will manage to fill the painful void in their actual existence by getting involved in political struggle! They count on their advantage - that by sacrificing themselves for the Croatian cause they have purified their Croatian being to a most sublime degree, and that they are now the most authentic elite in Croatia. Only, they forget their main disadvantage, which is the fact that they are the embodiment of the deficiencv of that Croatian being: they forget that there are not the essence of the purest Croatian being, but an actual bastard produced by the ideology of Croatian statehood, a by-product of Croatian ideological, ethnical, political, cultural, and all other purism. The very flywheel of Croatian revolutionary statehood has always turned around the dark axis of its blindness for obvious contradictions. The Other of the purest and most sublime Croatian ideal has been from the very beginning an unscrupulous struggle for personal profit, bared down to the bone in its filthiness. Whoever dared to look with the naked eye at this flashy Croatian ideal remained blind to that Other.

Without sharing their politically engaged optimism, ARKZIN wishes good luck to Croatian war volunteers and disabled war veterans. We will lose nothing if they succeed in having a better life.

For we are not the ones who got rich on their wounds.

Riječ je, naime, o ljudima koji na simboličkoj razini zauzimaiu središnie miesto - čista esencija svetog žrtvovanja za nacionalnu stvar, vrijednosno najviši stupanj ljudske egzistencije u današnjoj Hrvatskoj dok se realno osiećaju marginaliziranima, gurnutim na periferiju, odbačenim, upravo odboinima i nepriznatima. Oni vieruiu da će ovai rasciep zatvoriti na razini visoke politike. da će bolnu prazninu svoje realne egzistencije uspjeti ispuniti sadržajima stranačke

borbe! Oni računaju na prednost - da su u svom žrtvovanju za hrvatsku stvar pročistili svoje hrvatstvo do najsublimnijih sfera, da su dakle ona najautentičnija elita hrvatstva. Ali zaboravljaju na svoj nedostatak, tj., na činjenicu da su oni otjelovljenje nedostatka tog hrvatstva samog, zaboravljaju da nisu nikakva esencija najčišćeg hrvatstva, nego naprotiv, realni bastard ideologije hrvatskog državotovorstva, nusproizvod hrvatskog ideološkog, etničkog, političkog, kulturnog i svakog drugog purizma. Sam zamašnjak hrvatskog revolucionarnog državotvorstva uvijek se okretao u mračnoj osi njena slijepila za očigledna protuslovlja. Ono Drugo najčišćeg i najsublimnijeg hrvatskog ideala otpočetka je bilo u svojoj prljavosti do kraja obnaženo beskrupulozno osobno bogaćenie. Tko se god usudio golim očima izravno pogledati u blještavi hrvatski ideal, ostao je slijep za to niegovo Drugo.

arkzin, premda ne dijeli njihov politički angažirani optimizam, želi sreću hrvatskim dragovoljcima, invalidima. Mi nećemo ništa izgubiti ako njima bude bolje.

Jer mi se nismo ni obogatili na njihovim ranama.

Inovativnost grafičkog izdanja Arkzina, koje je odlikovala primjena novih tehnoloških mogućnosti oblikovanja pred-internetskog doba, je uspješno nastavljena i u novom mediju. Radikalne inovacije dizajna postaju najvidljivije u fazi kada dolazi do ispreplitanja grafičkih rješenja tiskanog i online izdanja, kada postaje nemoguće precizno odrediti autorske udjele kod oblikovanja jednog ili drugog izdanja. Vizualni kód web sjedišta se prenosi u tisak, gdje se kao elementi layouta ili kao ilustracije pojavljuju HTML-kód, računalne ikone, pixelpisma, padajući izbornici, prozori, URL-adrese, podertavanje teksta (linkovi) i drugi elementi iz online svijeta. Uskoro i logotip casopisa, koji se koristi u zaolavlju tiskanog izdanja, integrira znak @.

- Ivica Mitrović



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Yes, you can judge the book by its cover

И Стилл Мисс Аркзин. Фор 1,000.000 Реасонс.

> Бранко Вучићевић, Београд

arkzin — megazin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva, no. 74, 26 July 1997, p. 2

Was ist Arkzin [30]

Give me back the **Berlin Wall** give me **Stalin** and **St Paul** I've seen the future, brother: it is murder!

Thus sang LEONARD CO-HEN in the title song of his album The Future. WE MAY NOT HAVE SEEN THE FUTURE. BUT SOME THINGS MAKE US WON-DER. We attack Gotovac – and he loses the elections, not only from Tuđman, but also from Tomac (whom we also attacked, but somewhat later, so that he lost only from Tuđman). We attack Chris Krsto Cviić and there - the man abruptly left his position as the editor of Tjednik. That doesn't mean that we haven't attacked Tudman. BUT THERE he seems to be more resilient, or perhaps his newspaper readers, holding a marker pen in their hands, have spared him the experience of reading the "Croatian foreign press," as we were once nicknamed in a southern Croatian daily!

YES, ARKZIN HAS NEVER BEEN PAMPERED — but it is also true that Arkzin has never spared anyone in power, or their opposition, for that matter. And we are not really comforted by the fact that eventually it always turns out that we were right. That is why we have sometimes been attacked even by those from whom we expected support — and who denounced us as elitist (although we not only indicated, but also insisted upon erasing the borders between high and low, or popular

and elite cultures), as "SEPARATING OURSELVES FROM THE CIVIL SCENE" (although we are the only ones who have been paying attention to it systematically - which in our perspective and ideology also means criticizing all that we think should be criticized, never resorting to arguments such as "it is not the right time"), as "ŽIŽEKIAN" - OK ves, we admit that openly. but not because we consider Žižek and the Slovenian school of Lacanists as an unquestionable authority, but because they are the only ones on the post-Yugoslav, and even European and global theoretical scene who have offered some relevant interpretations and even a whole theoretical apparatus for discussing the problems of post-socialism, the rise of nationalisms, the limits of liberalism, and so on.

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arkzin – megazin za politiku i kulturu civilnog društva, br. 93, 26.7.1997., str. 2

WAS IST ARKZIN [30]

Give me back the **Berlin wall** give me **Stalin** and **St.Paul** I've seen the future, brother: **it is murder!**

L_{slijedec} arkzinavo slavo

pjevao je Leonard Cohen u naslovnoj pjesmi albuma The Future. Možda nismo vidjeli budućnost ali neke stvari daju čovjeku misliti. Napadnemo <u>Gotovca</u> - i on izgubi na izborima ne samo od <u>Tuđmana</u> nego i od <u>Tomca</u> (kojeg smo također napali, ali malo kasnije, tako da je izgubio samo od **Tuđmana**). Napadnemo Krisa Krstu Cviića, kad eto - ode čovjek na brzinu s uredničkog mjesta Tjednika. To ne znači da **Tuđmana** nismo napadali, **ali eto**, on je izgleda otporniji. Ili su ga njegovi čitači novina s flomasterom u ruci poštedjeli "**domaćeg stranog tiska**" kako su nas okarakterizirali u južnohrvatskom dnevniku!

Da, arkzin nikad nije bio mažen - ali istina, arkzin nikada nikoga ni iz vlasti a bogami ni iz opozicije nije mazio. A nije nam neka utjeha kako se na kraju uvijek pokazalo da smo bili u pravu. Zato su nas čak i neki od kojih smo očekivali podršku napadali – za elitizam (dok smo baš mi ne samo govorili već i inzistirali na slomu granica između visoke i niske kulture, popularne i elitne), za "Odvajanje od civilne scene" (dok smo joj jedino mi sustavno posvećivali pažnju - što je u našoj optici i ideologiji značilo i otvoreno kritizirali sve što smo mislili da treba kritizirati, ne povlačeći argumente "sad nije vrijeme"), za "Žižekijanizam" - eh da, tu smo krivi, otvoreno priznajemo, ali ne stoga što bi Slavoja Žižeka i slovensku lakanovsku školu držali neupitnim autoritetom, već stoga što su jedino oni na post-jugoslavenskoj, pa čak i evropskoj i svjetskoj teorijskoj sceni pružili ne samo relevantna tumačenja već i čitav teorijski aparat kojim se može govoriti o problemima postsocijalizma, uspona nacionalizama, granicama liberalizma itd.

AH YES, WHY WE ARE SAYING ALL THIS. Simply because owing to the financial problems we will not be publishing another paper edition until autumn.

If Arkzin goes down, it will not go down because of what it is not – and it is not highsale, sensationalist, bombastic, sweet-talking, ready for compromise, mainstream, graphically neat, or linguistically polished... but because of what it is – radical, alternative, critical, theory-based, media conscious, and for all these reasons necessarily marginal.

BECAUSE IT IS A BASTARD, AN ILLEGITI-MATE CHILD OF CROATIAN CULTURAL AND PO-LITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

Ah, wipe off your tears, do not lament yet over the sad fate of Arkzin. We refuse to take on the role of a passive victim whose fate

> is completely dictated by the circumstances, by powerful political and cultural agencies, and we will not disappear, although it would make things easier for many, and many would sigh in relief – both those in power and their so-called opposition – and not only those who immediately spring into your mind!

> Unfortunately for all of them, we promise, first to you, our handful of readers, and then also to them, that THIS IS NOT THE END AND THE DEMISE OF ARKZIN, either as a newspaper or as a project. It is simply that we have always been realistic. We stretched out as far as we could. In the worst times, when no other independent paper

was there, we launched a project that seemed crazy to many, and we developed it. From the very beginning, ARKZIN WAS NOT CON-CEIVED AS JUST ANOTHER PUBLI-CATION AMONG MANY, BUT RATH-ER AS A CULTURAL PLATFORM. We built up our identity, we polished our theory. If the financial circumstances are such that in this favourite "season of pickled cucumbers." when nothing is going on except for the elections - and since they are over, even they seem not to have happened at all - when even the daily newspapers have raised their prices, we think that we can only survive with losses, and it is realistic that until autumn we should recommend to our readers to read other papers, such as Feral, Wired, Vreme, Bumerang, or Mladina, Once again, THIS DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE ARE LEAVING THE MEDIA LANDSCAPE.

CURRENTLY WE ARE PREPAR-ING SOME NEW PUBLICATIONS in our *Bastard Series*, a special edition of Arkzin's collected interviews, and for all those who are online, THERE IS OUR INTERNET EDITION!

Perhaps OUR TEMPORARY ABSENCE from Croatian public life in the most manifest, printed form will eventually prove more visible than being present in it, and perhaps the void that remains after our withdrawal will be recognized as a black hole in Croatian politics and culture, in the Croatian reality.

Zbog toga što je bio **bastard**, kopile, nelegitmno čedo hrvatskih kulturnih i političkih prilika.

Eh, zaustavite suze, ne naričite još nad tužnom sudbinom arkzina. Ne pristajemo na ulogu pasivne žrtve kojoj sve diktiraju okolnosti, veliki politički i kulturni moćnici, i nećemo nestati, iako bi mnogima bilo lakše da arkzina nema, mnogima će, dakle, laknuti kako onima na vlasti, tako i u tzv. opoziciji – ali ne samo onima na koje ste odmah pomislili!

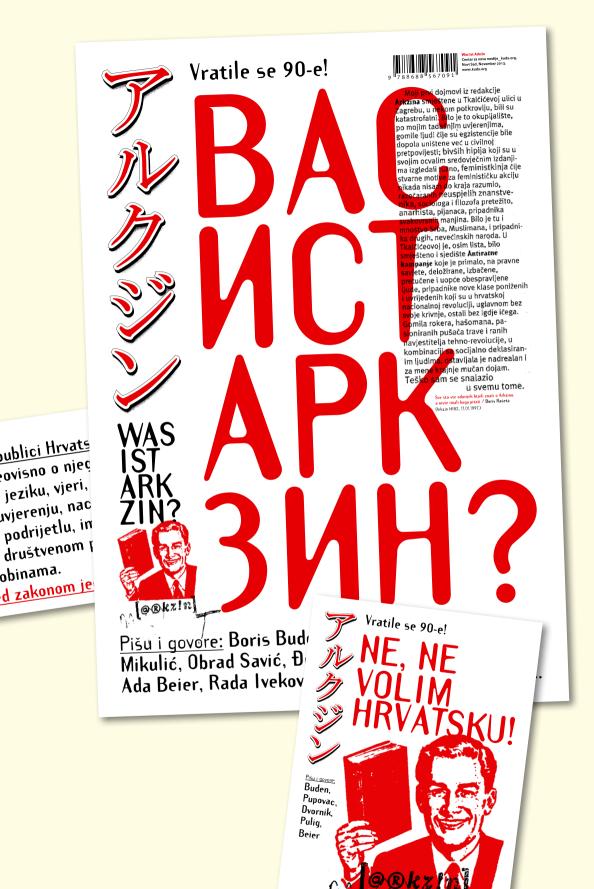
Na žalost svih njih, obećavamo prvo vama, našim malobrojnim viernim čitateljima, a zatim i njima da to nije kraj i krah arkzina, niti kao novine niti kao projekta. Jednostavno – uvijek smo bili realni. Protezali smo se koliko smo mogli. U najgorim trenucima, kad nije bilo drugog nezavisnog tiska počeli smo projekt koji je mnogima izgledao sulud, i razvijali ga. Ali od tih samih početka arkzin nije mišljen kao samo još jedna u nizu publikacija, već kao kulturni pogon. Izgradili smo svoj identitet, izbrusili teoriju. Ako su financijske obveze tolike da sad, u ovoj omiljenoj novinarskoj "sezoni kiselih krastavaca" kad se ništa ne događa osim izbora – a kako su završili i oni kao da i nisu održani, kad su i dnevne novine poskupjele, missmatramo da možemo proizvoditi samo gubitke, realistično do jeseni našim čitateljima svesrdno preporučamo Feral. Wired. Vreme. Bumerang. Mladinu ili makedonsku Marginu, to, da još jednom ponovimo, ne znači da nestajemo s medijske scene.

U pripremi su nova izdanja naše Biblioteke Bastard, specijalno izdanje sabranih arkzinovih intervjua a za sve priključene on-line tu je naše web izdanje!

Možda **naša privremena odsutnost** iz hrvatske javnosti u najvidljivijem, tiskanom obliku, bude vidljivija od našeg bivanja na njoj, i možda prazno mjesto koje preostane nakon našeg povlačenja konačno bude prepoznato kao **Crna rupa** hrvatske politike i kulture, hrvatske stvarnosti.



Installing the Public, billboard and cover pages of special edition of Arkzin published in Zagreb, Novi Sad and Skopje in November of 2013. Instaliranje javnosti, jumbo plakat i naslovnice posebnog izdanja Arkzina objavljenog u Zagrebu, Novom Sadu i Skopju u studenom 2013.



Arkzin Digital Archive on DVD / Digitalna arhiva Arkzina na DVD-u

The digitization of Arkzin is a part of the project of collecting and digitizing the archival material of the Anti-War Campaign Croatia and other civil society and human rights organizations. Once this work is complete, the Human Rights Archive will open within Documenta - Center for dealing with the past, with the aim of providing greater access and visibility to physical and digital archival material. The digitized content will be made available, depending on how fast the digitizing effort progresses, at the web address:

http://arhivzaljudskaprava.org/, whereas the physical material can be accessed in the spaces of *Documenta*. The digitization of Arkzin was conducted by Zrinka Kolarić and Nikola Mokrović with the volunteering assistance of Željko Ilić. Digitalizacija *ARkzina* provodi se kao dio projekta slaganja i digitalizacije gradiva Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske i ostalih organizacija civilnog društva i organizacija za ljudska prava. Završetkom rada na ovom gradivu ujedno se osniva i otvara Arhiv za ljudska prava pri *Documenti* – Centru za suočavanje s prošlošću, a cilj je omogućiti što veću dostupnost i vidljivost fizičkog i digitaliziranog gradiva. Digitaliziranom se gradivu, ovisno o dinamici rada, može pristupiti na adresi

http://arhivzaljudskaprava.org/, a fizičko se gradivo može koristiti u prostorijama *Documente*. Na projektu digitalizacije *ARkzina* rade Zrinka Kolarić i Nikola Mokrović, uz pomoć volontera Željka Ilića.

Moji prvi dojmovi iz redakcije Arkzina smieštene u Tkalčićevoj ulici u Zagrebu, u nekom potkrovlju, bili su katastrofalni. Bilo je to okupljalište, po mojim tadašnjim uvjerenjima, gomile liudi čije su egzistencije bile dopola uništene već u civilnoi pretpovijesti: bivših hipija koji su u svojim ocvalim sredovječnim izdanjima izgledali tužno, feministkinja čije stvarne motive za feminističku akciju nikada nisam do kraja razumio. razočaranih neuspjelih znanstvenika, sociologa i filozofa pretežito, anarhista, pijanaca, pripadnika svakovrsnih manjina. Bilo je tu i mnoštvo Srba, Muslimana, i pripadnika drugih, nevećinskih naroda. U Tkalčićeovoj je, osim lista, bilo smješteno i sjedište Antiratne kampanje koje je primalo, na pravne saviete, deložirane, izbačene, pretučene i uopće obespravljene liude, pripadnike nove klase poniženih i uvrijeđenih koji su u hrvatskoj nacionalnoj revoluciji, uglavnom bez svoje krivnje, ostali bez igdje ičega. Gomila rokera, hašomana, pasioniranih pušača trave i ranih navjestitelja tehno-revolucije, u kombinaciji sa socijalno deklasiranim ljudima, ostavljala je nadrealan i za mene krajnje mučan dojam. Teško sam se snalazio

u svemu tome.

Sve što ste oduvijek htjeli znati o Arkzinu, a niste imali koga pitati / Boris Rašeta (Arkzin №82, 17.01.1997.)







Arkzin & Multimedijalni institut, Zagreb, 2013.