FORUM HISTORIAE

Why Fanzines? Perspectives, Topics and Limits in Research on Central Eastern Europe*

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Abstract

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While we strive to develop existing research on fanzines in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), this article provides an introduction to the discussion about of fanzines and the specific historical contexts of CEE. This thematic issue aims to open a debate about CEE subcultures and alternative-press practices in the context of the relationship between the local and the global in contemporary history. With the cross-disciplinary view in this issue and the comparative view in the forthcoming issue we want to open up questions that go beyond the mainstream discourses in history and cultural heritage studies in CEE. The forming of a critical public, which often took place on the pages of fanzines, is reflected in the alternative narratives that undermine well-established stories of late socialism and post-socialism in CEE. Alternative scenes played a significant role in the transformation of CEE societies in recent decades, and their impact can be traced in the political and cultural debates of societies at large. Thus, research on fanzines can offer new insights from a "history from below" perspective. This article provides an overview of fanzine research and highlights three important contexts of fanzine analysis: the first is based on the interaction between creators, recipients, and their networks; the second highlights the special economic considerations of fanzine production and distribution; and the third focuses on the specific nature of the visuality and content of fanzines. We also discuss cultural transfer both between East and West and within the CEE.

Keywords: Central Eastern Europe; fanzines; alternative press; subcultures; socialism; post-socialism

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Subcultural studies have widely benefited from the study of zines, but nonetheless zines are not an entirely common subject matter among scholars. Although our colleagues from the Archiv der Jugendkulturen have assembled a rather extensive bibliography about zines,[1] these publications remain a marginal, not well-established focus of study. Zine research, however, has made a distinctive mark on one field, the study of feminist activism, as independent publishing activities were an important component of third-wave feminism.[2] In recent years though, European historians have begun expressing interest in the study of zines. For example, 2018 witnessed the publication of an edited volume from Matthew Worley, Lucy Robinson, et al. on the history of British zine production.[3] Additionally, several

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1 https://blogderjugendkulturen.wordpress.com/tag/zine-literatur/

2 See, for example, these seminal works PIEPMEIER, Alison. *Girl Zines Making Media, Doing Feminism*. New York : NYU Press, 2009; EICHHORN, Kate. *The Archival Turn in Feminism*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press, 2013.

3 THE SUBCULTURES NETWORK (eds.) *Ripped, Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976*. Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2018.

interdisciplinary research networks have been established whose activities are connected to the study of zines – for instance, in Great Britain, the Interdisciplinary Network for the Study of Subcultures, Popular Music and Social Change; and the Punk Scholars Network.[4] A similar group has emerged in Portugal around Paula Guerra, who researches punk zines and co-organises the international KISMIF (KEEP IT SIMPLE MAKE IT FAST!) symposia in Porto.[5] Samuel Etienne from France has, in turn, announced the establishment of a new multidisciplinary revue *ZINES*, an international magazine focused on amateur and do-it-yourself (DIY) media, the first issue of which is planned for 2020.[6] Meanwhile, an important debate is underway in the USA about the specifics of archiving zines; thus far, a code of ethics has been produced.[7] Similarly, in Germany, activities focused on archiving alternative media related to subcultures, the feminist movement, and other social movements are well developed.[8] New scholarship has also been conducted in Central Eastern Europe (CEE), although such research here is dominated by interest in alternative culture and dissent during the Communist period. Two large international projects have been devoted to innovative research on samizdat and cultural opposition, COURAGE or NEP4DISSENT.[9]

The first efforts to map zine production emerged during the zine boom in the West in the 1980s and 1990s. These endeavours were primarily limited to insiders, which is still largely true today as well. In the 1990s, academia became interested in zines, and as a result several zine anthologies emerged. Stephan Duncombe's generally acknowledged *Notes from the Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* is a product of this time. He penned perhaps the most frequently used general definition of zines, or fanzines (a portmanteau of *fan* and *magazine*): zines are non-commercial, non-professional magazines that are published in small numbers and created, printed, and distributed by the authors themselves.[10]

Duncombe pointed out that what differentiates a zine from a mere hobby carried out by individuals are the specific forms of cultural practices developed by the authors, which are manifest in the form and content of zines, and the communities of similarly oriented actors surrounding zines. For Duncombe, producers of fanzines (zinesters) represent a minority that opposes mainstream culture. Although this minority creates a "virtual bohemia" and raises important topics for discussion, it has no impact on actual politics.[11] Chris Atton interprets the birth of zines

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4 For more information see https://www.reading.ac.uk/history/research/Subcultures/palgrave.aspx; https://www.punkscholarsnetwork.com/

5 https://www.kismifconference.com/

6 http://strandflat.fr/zines/

7 For details, see https://zinelibraries.info/code-of-ethics/

8 BACIA, Jürgen – WENZEL, Cornelia. *Bewegung bewahren. Freie Archive und die Geschichte von unten*. Berlin : Archive der Jugendkulturen, 2013.

9 https://nep4dissent.eu/; http://cultural-opposition.eu/. See also: https://www.forschungsstelle.uni-bremen.de/en/5/20110921174714/20150706110510/Samizdat-_Alternative_culture_in_Central_and_Eastern_Europe.html

10 DUNCOMBE, Stephen. *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*. Portland : Microcosm Publishing, 2008, p. 6.

11 DUNCOMBE 2008, p. 58-66.

in the context of the history of journalism as an expression of the crisis of modern mass media, which provides no space for innovation and authenticity.[12] He has challenged the narrow subcultural contextualisation of zines and pointed out that they are primarily a product of the formation of "ideological music communities" striving to gain their own space, as they view themselves as marginalised or misrepresented by the dominant mainstream media culture. From this viewpoint, zines represent specific genre cultures that are not primarily in opposition to the mainstream; instead, they co-create the critical discourse on popular music.[13]

Duncombe does not explicitly establish a difference between the terms *fanzine* and *zine*, although he does prefer to use the more general term of *zine* and writes about fanzines as specifically fan-oriented magazines. On the other hand, Atton clearly differentiates zines from fanzines: the latter are tied to an external object of interest and adoration, whereas the former function as a means of communication in the process of forming individual and collective identities and what he labels "sociality."[14] In this special issue, we come across periodicals matching both definitions, and therefore we do not strictly distinguish between the terms *fanzine* and *zine*.

What is a fanzine?

Even if the general definition proposed by Duncombe can provide a basic delineation for zine studies, what was or is understood to be a fanzine or a zine has varied widely in recent decades. As opposed to traditional periodicals, fanzines do not have to have a regular structure, form, or contents. They are created by people wishing to pursue their own interests, connect with like-minded people, or just have fun. They are predominantly the product of the creativity and current (sometimes ephemeral) interests of their creators. The publisher of *Vryť kľôvatina,* a Slovak hardcore zine from the early 1990s*,* sums up his approach to zine-making in the following words: it was a *"hodgepodge combination representing how we lived, how we thought."*[15]

Considering the wide variety of zines and the differences in production methods, providing a universal definition of "the zine" would certainly prove elusive. Every zine comes into existence under specific circumstances, and striving to achieve uniqueness is one of the key principles of zinestership. With this knowledge in mind, in this introductory study we seek to propose an analytical framework for studying zinestership and its social, cultural, and political dimensions.

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12 ATTON, Chris. *Alternative media*. London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi : Sage, 2002, p. 27.

13 ATTON, Chris. Popular Music Fanzines: Genre, Aesthetics, and the "Democratic Conversation". In *Popular Music and Society*, 2010, Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 517-531.

14 ATTON, Chris. Fanzines. Enthusiastic production through popular culture. In ATTON, Chris (ed.) *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media*. London; New York : Routledge, 2015, pp. 427-444.

15 Interview recorded in 10. April 2019. Archive of the Czech and Slovak Subcultures.

We suggest three key topics that mark the making of zines and could provide analytical frames for studying zines:

Figure 1. The cover of the magazine *Vryť kľôvatina*, issue 6, 1993 (Source: HOWGH)

a) The community of creators and recipients forming a common network;

b) The DIY economy in the creation and exchange of zines;

c) Visuality and content representing the diverse individual and social agendas of zine creators and recipients.

Creators, recipients, and their communities

The creators of zines, or zinesters, are usually members of the younger generation; most often high school or university students, but there are also important exceptions. Age plays an important role because younger people have a certain tendency to oppose the dominant culture represented by parents and have the need to let their authentic voice be heard about subjects overlooked by the majority. In the case of zines, these people are usually amateurs – most often male, but also female, enthusiasts with a certain outlook and background in the middle-class culture that give them the competence to seek alternative ways of living.[16] Enthusiasm for building scenes is an integral component of zinestership. Zines are products of activist individuals and small groups who have decided to put their energy into making independent magazines to express their feelings and needs for the benefit of other people with similar interests. When enthusiasm wanes or "time is in short supply" – that is, when creators become too busy with other more important things (jobs, families, or more serious political or social work) – zines very often cease to exist.

The creators of zines make decisions about the content of individual issues as well as the overall fate of their zines. They are often well respected in their particular scene. They tend to be active in other ways too, contributing to the development of their scenes. Some go on to run subcultural brands, labels, shops, festivals, or other events. Others move on from zine-making to work in the non-profit sector,

16 LIMING, Sheila. Of Anarchy and Amateurism: Zine Publication and Print Dissent. In *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, 2010, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 129-143.

art, design, or business – including professional journalism and the media business – as well as in the public sector.

The world of zines is based on very close, sometimes even intimate, connections between authors and readers, be they through articles (correspondence columns, essays, opinion pieces, reports) or personal correspondence. There are often direct personal links. Sharing zines and participating in their creation contribute to the forming and strengthening of social relations in specific communities, subcultures, or scenes.

Zines are often established with a mission: to develop and promote a particular agenda. This is evident in zines' very personal and committed communication styles. Thus, these publications can have a strong formative effect on their creators and their self-understandings, while also galvanising readers. Zines take on symbolic value and become a channel for communicating a certain lifestyle, as noted by Dick Hebdidge, who has pointed out their homological nature.[17] In this vein, the publisher of the Czech hardcore punk zine *Trhavina* claims the following: *"What hardly anyone fully appreciates about zines is their contribution to the formation of the subculture. After all, where else than in magazines do those much-discussed »unseen rules« of particular subcultural scenes develop* [...] *by an almost evolutionary process?* [...] *I dare to say that without zines and underground journalism in general, alternative culture would turn into a bubble that bursts into hollow entertainment, such as brass band music, bar or »party« bands doing the rounds of village pubs and community centres and offering a cheap live music »alternative« to TV entertainment that is sometimes too shallow even for a hardened consumer of pop culture."*[18]

Despite the specific, community nature of zines, however, they do not only express untroubled unity of the community and the homogeneity of subcultures. On the one hand, zines strengthen mutual loyalty through various symbols, mottos, and a normative discourse about "what is right" (and what is not). On the other hand, the debates and controversies that play out in letters columns, opinion articles, and comments reveal the negotiated and dynamic nature of scenes. Fanzines serve as a medium through which music lovers engage in democratic conversation. They represent the social celebration of a particular kind of musical interest and commitment.[19] This medium, thus, often serves as a platform for the critical exchange of views about the scene and its values. The web of relationships between creators and readers, therefore, always reflects the tensions between the author's purposes and readers' expectations that arise because zinesters, although they do serve a certain community, engage in zine-making mainly for self-satisfaction.

The ethos of zinestership entails a specific type of openness about the content of these publications that stresses their democratic character and their

17 HEBDIGE, Dick. *Subculture: the Meaning of Style*. London : Routledge, 1979.

18 INY. Ziny. In *Trhavina*, 2007, No. 2, p. 43.

19 For more details, see: ATTON 2010, pp. 526-529.

ambitions to serve as a platform for open debate about the scene or a subculture. For a majority of zinesters the importance of mutual aid and participation is a crucial message. One author writing for the fanzine *Oslí uši*, for example, appeals to readers with this question*: "Do you want to do something for the cause? Do you have something to say? Do you write, photograph, paint, translate... anything? Feel free to speak up; this dude's no better than you. Unite!"*[20]

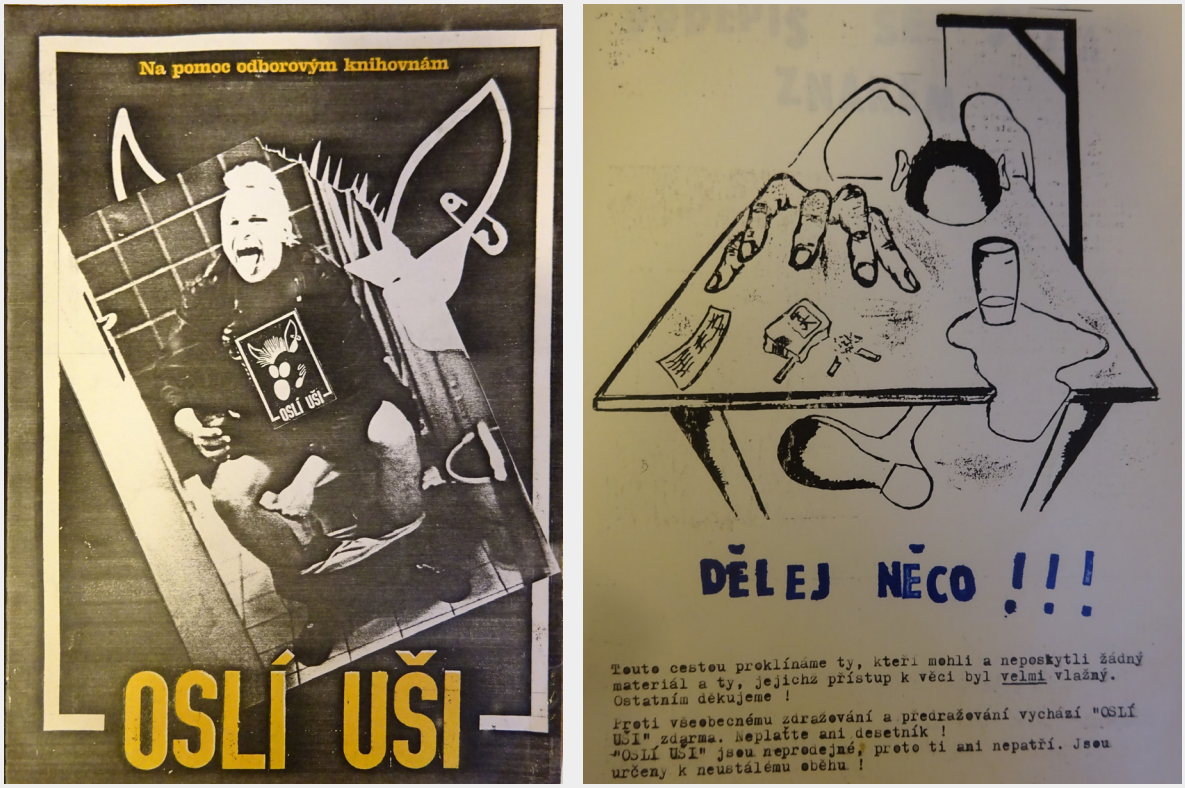

Figure 2, 3. Front-page and one of the pages of the zine *Oslí uši* (Source: Libri prohibiti)

The DIY economy

Sheila Liming, inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of literary production, has shown that in the overall literary field the zine represents a relatively marginal phenomenon, a typical product of the middle class. Zinesters share something in common with the working class in the sense that they feel excluded from certain cultural spheres. They subvert middle-class values with aesthetic chaos, attacking dominant cultural and financial mechanisms.[21] At the same time, within subcultures, zines are valued objects linked to specific economic practices. The alternative production chain, including its related networks of creators, distributors, and recipients, forms structures parallel to those of mainstream society. They possess their own values, do not aspire to profit financially, and are based on a distinctive economic rationale of exchange. While for-profit thinking is generally neglected, willingness to do something "for the cause" is highly appreciated.

20 *Oslí uši*, 1989, No. 1.
21 LIMING 2010, p. 131-135.

Thanks to the relative availability of printing technology and, more recently, computers, virtually anyone, anytime, can create zines. Most zinesters can be described as "amateur journalists." They produce non-profit publications in small print runs ranging from a few copies to a few thousand. Zines are perceived by their creators more as goods to be traded in an exchange economy rather than as media products intended for the market. Zines are often exchanged for other zines, or sometimes only for beer. Prices are not derived from the calculable costs of production, which usually takes place at home, in shared spaces, or in any space where the technology is available, sometimes even parasitically or illicitly. Zines are most often printed on photocopiers or in small printing centres and distributed through personal contacts and specialised distribution networks. Zinesters, therefore, create their products in cooperation with fellow enthusiasts and at minimal expense. Even if they set a sale price, the money acquired per copy can vary dramatically depending on the situation. Consequently, zines are often copied freely as zinesters have an anti-copyright attitude. In zine production, communicating and promoting ideas are of greater importance than monetary transactions. Today, zines are usually printed on professional printing presses, they contain a greater number of pages, and they use advanced graphic techniques that often aspire to the artistic. For this reason, zines are no longer goods to be traded in exchange economies. Instead, they emphasise solidarity and the authenticity of the community that this DIY medium enables and which is in need of voluntary support, even of a financial nature.

In certain situations, the culture and aesthetics of fanzines can be commodified, that is, they become a commodity, an object of commerce, and a part of the mainstream (ranging from the advertising industry to graphic design). This reflects the more general process of commodifying subcultural production in which some elements of subcultural style are accepted into the cultural mainstream's aesthetic reservoir and used in mass production. Commodification even occurs amongst zinesters, as some choose to turn their know-how into monetary value, whether through scene-related commercial activities or in the mainstream media and mainstream cultural production. Such activities are generally negatively reflected by active members of the scene, who try to defend its autonomous space, who consider financial gain to be an abuse of independent production, and who fiercely resist any overlaps with the mainstream.

Some zinesters, however, seek to gain higher prestige for their scene, to spread its ideas and values, and to gain new readers and supporters. They, therefore, try to devise strategies for breaking through the borders of "the subcultural ghetto". As writer Derek Chezzi has pointed out, in these cases there is a very thin boundary separating the desire to attract attention from the anti-corporate approach. In trying to reach a larger audience, zinesters often find themselves participating to a certain extent in the "system," which may lead them to emulation of corporate publishing practices.[22] In some cases, zines are distributed in selected standard bookstores, second-hand bookshops, or music stores, but there are many examples of fanzines

22 CHEZZI, Derek. The countercultural zine. In http://archive.macleans.ca/article/2000/11/20/the-counterculture-zine

that have transformed into regular magazines circulated through official distribution channels and found a "mainstream" readership leading to large print runs.

Visuality and content

The contents of fanzines vary widely, but a key principle is the desire for originality and provocation, often presented as opposition to "the mainstream" represented by both the state and the entire commercial domain. Because enthusiasm is a major driving force for zinesters, zine contents may change considerably over time and are dependent on access to information, the interests of the authors and readers, and on the willingness to devote unpaid work to get the best results. Zinesters strive for originality and distinctiveness, and zines often present strong personal testimonies, a result of the creators' attempts to achieve authenticity.[23]

At the same time, in terms of content, zines (especially those associated with the same scenes) feature fairly standard formats. They usually include an editorial, interviews, critical reviews, reports and essays, and reprinted texts (sometimes rare texts otherwise unavailable). Text is interwoven with various types of visual material: drawings, comic strips, photographs, collages, graphic art, and so forth. While the use of regular sections and structure makes zines similar to traditional publications, some zinesters subvert these stable elements, either unintentionally due to their amateurism, or because of their efforts at originality and provocation. Layouts that subvert those of traditional publications, reversed page numbering, and so forth, disorient readers, stimulating their visual senses and urging them to think differently.

Thus, zines are meant to be a communication platform for the communities they serve, providing readers with news about current events and activities as well as texts and visual material that mark the subcultural style of the particular community. The latter type of content might comprise canonical texts (sometimes in translation) about scene history and legends, presentations of social or political movements, or imagery associated with legendary labels and LPs, signs, symbols, and so forth. In this way, zines develop the scene's cultural reservoir and influence the identity formation of scene members. For instance, skinhead zines usually contain texts dealing with the question of how to be "a true skinhead," some of which are dedicated to the history of the skinhead subculture, whereas others are about music genres, suitable fashions, and so forth. In contrast, metal zines largely concentrate on music and only partly on lifestyle.

An important part of this anarchic zine-journalism is usually also a focus on activism-related topics and criticism of modern institutions of all kinds. In this sense, the publishing of zines can be understood as a political activity or political activism. However, many zinesters critically delimit their activities towards politics and politicians, which they see as a part of "the system" that they are trying to avoid or even fight against. Some zinesters within politically divided subcultures (such as the skinhead subculture) even try to present their activities as "apolitical,"

23 DUNCOMBE 2008, p. 35-40.

eschewing political debate and focusing solely on subcultural style. When zinesters follow more specific political objectives and agendas, they are usually reflected in the zines' contents and publishing strategies. In the case of some anarchist and feminist magazines that have tried to develop a larger readership, the editors strive for a more serious and professional form and contents with the objective of appealing to audiences outside their scene and subcultural environment.

Imitation of Western models or specific local practices?

This special issue aims to present up-to-date research on subcultures and fanzines in socialist and post-socialist CEE. Despite this geographical focus, we do not want to support the idea that this region is uniform due to its shared Habsburg past, the experience of the two world wars, and the project of state socialism. On the contrary, we want to show that CEE is an unevenly developed region with diverse but interrelated local and national traditions and experiences from both the state-socialist period and the subsequent post-socialist transition. Therefore, our aim is to trace how various popular cultural trends were established and developed in different sociocultural and national settings. In doing so, we seek to spark a debate about subcultures and alternative-press practices in CEE in the context of debates about the relationships between the local and the global in contemporary history.

Despite the diversity amongst the countries of CEE, we can still identify some commonalities. The question of how local cultural production during state socialism was related to the Western popular culture complex has already been addressed. According to Ewa Mazierska, present research on popular music and business in CEE using the concept of "self-colonisation" claims that Western music icons were highly popular throughout CEE during late socialism, although not necessarily due to the pure entertainment value they provided. Rockers were viewed as anti-Communist fighters. Communist authorities interpreted listening to Western music and mimicking Western lifestyles as acts of political subversion that aimed to destroy the socialist state. Mazierska proposes scholars shift away from applying this "self-colonisation" paradigm and focus more on "participation", that is, they should consider the popular music of CEE as an *"articulation of local culture and an act of participation in the global phenomenon of popular music."*[24] "Imperialist" Anglo-American pop-rock music was adapted to meet local needs and sensibilities, as well as dynamic global trends. By shifting the focus, a space emerges in which the relationship between the post-colonial and the post-socialist can be debated.[25]

24 MAZIERSKA Ewa. Introduction. In MAZIERSKA Ewa (ed.) *Popular Music in Eastern Europe. Breaking the Cold War Paradigm*. London : Palgrave, 2016, p. 4.

25 OWCZARZAK, Jill. Introduction: Postcolonial Studies and Postsocialism in Eastern Europe. In *Focaal*, 2009, Vol. 53, No. 3, p. 3-5.

By applying this new paradigm, we will be able to address the global nature of cultural transfer, particularly the transfer of popular culture and subcultures. Hence, we need to study popular culture as a "glocal" phenomenon. Motti Regev argues that *"in late modernity, we have to treat world culture as one complexly interconnected entity, in which social groupings of all types around the globe growingly share wide common grounds in their aesthetic perceptions, expressive forms, and cultural practices."*[26] In the world of fanzines, we also see a growing trend towards this type of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, although its timing and subcultural contexts differ.

Figure 4. Seller on the unofficial market in Bratislava, 1987 (Source: Lucia Bartošová)

Even though we adopt a global view, we cannot overlook CEE's common cultural heritage, which is the product of the interconnected cultural policies of the former Soviet Bloc countries. One important issue is that of consumerism within socialist societies. Khrushchev's utopian vision of Communism linked the development of a Communist society to consumption. Khrushchev's steps towards consumerism paved the way for questions about consumer needs in the Soviet Bloc.[27] The importance of leisure time and the domestic sphere increased gradually, following developments in the West. In late-socialist art and the cultural industry, the "Westernisation of official culture" can be discerned. In rock music and film, the presence of "Western-like" pop-culture motifs, commonly presented as a part of the modern socialist lifestyle, played a growingly important role. The political regimes of CEE tried to balance this strategy of adaptation with repressive actions against young people whose cultural activities went beyond what was officially permitted.[28] Thus in CEE we can observe different spaces in which state-controlled

26 REGEVS, Motti. *Pop-rock music: Aesthetic cosmopolitanism in late modernity*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2013, quoted in MAZIERSKA 2016, p. 5.

27 KOLÁŘ, Pavel. *Der Poststalinismus. Ideologie und Utopie einer Epoche, Zeithistorische Studien*. Köln; Weimar; Wien : Böhlau-Verlag, 2016.

28 In Czechoslovakia these dynamics have been studied in the case of the political ambivalence of rock music, for example: VANĚK, Miroslav. *Byl to jenom rock´n´roll? Hudební alternativa v komunistickém Československu 1956 – 1989*. Praha : Academia, 2010; for the cases of official campaigns against alternative cultural activities, see: BUGGE, Peter. Normalization and the Limits of the Law. The Case of the Czech Jazz Section. In *East European Politics and Societies*, 2008, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 282-318; STÁREK, František – KUDRNA, Ladislav. *Kapela: Pozadí operace, která stvořila Chartu 77*. Praha : Academia, 2017.

cultural industries could negotiate and commodify these Western-like elements. On the one hand, late-socialist regimes partly accepted the needs of societies in these countries to participate in the flow of global popular culture; on the other hand, they struggled to police people's tastes and to structure these needs to fit the official ideology. In this sense, as Michal Pullmann notes, we cannot simply answer the question of whether the culture of late-socialist consumerism strengthened the status quo or whether it contributed to the gradual destabilisation of the ruling regimes. Official mass media presented domestic popular culture and entertainment that mimicked Western models, but which was produced within a Marxist-Leninist ideological framework. However, the freer flow of information from West to East and the opening of new platforms for negotiating cultural tastes stimulated critical discourses about the regime's legitimacy and thus fostered the perception that Eastern consumerism was inferior to its Western counterpart.[29]

In this context, Ondřej Daniel claims in his study of subcultural violence in Czech society that the late-socialist regime tried to establish a "new Biedermeier" culture, a term he uses to describe the discourse employed by the regime to provide people with "calm for work" and leisure opportunities. Efforts to eliminate violence that could destroy "the harmony of socialist society" also covered subcultural activities, which were framed in a moral panic discourse. Soon after the state-socialist regime fell, the official "embargo" on violence followed suit. Even though the ethos of the Velvet Revolution called for non-violence and broader dialogue within society, a new wave of violence soon broke out in the subcultural milieu (especially between punks and skinheads), and the state authorities once again began repressing non-conformist activities.

To sum up, Daniel's metaphor of the "new Biedermeier" as a return to a safe petit-bourgeois idyll marked the political conformism and privatisation of public life in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic in the 1980s and 1990s and therefore represented ideological continuity across the change of political regimes.[30] These theses should, of course, be tested on other countries in the region, but adopting a comparative approach at this level would require more systematic research covering all the important case countries in CEE, which is impossible within the scope of this special issue (and the forthcoming one).

Scholars who have thus far researched independent cultural activities, including those of the independent press, during state socialism have often taken a black-and-white view of the situation, seeing only the political opposition versus an inactive population.[31] These discourses based on anti-Communism and nationalist re-evaluations of the socialist period proclaim a clear discontinuity between

29 KOLÁŘ, Pavel – PULLMANN, Michal. *Co byla normalizace? Studie o pozdním socialismu*. Praha : Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2016.

30 DANIEL, Ondřej et al. *Kultura svépomocí. Ekonomické a politické rozměry v českém subkulturním prostředí pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu.* Praha : Filozofická fakulta UK, 2016, s. 11-12.

31 KOPEČEK, Michal. In Search of "National Memory": The Politics of History, Nostalgia and the Historiography of Communism in the Czech Republic and East Central Europe. In KOPEČEK, Michal (ed.) *Past in the Making: Historical revisionism in Central Europe after 1989*. Budapest : Central European University Press, 2008, p. 75-95.

CEE's totalitarian regimes of the past and its new liberal democratic systems. In this context, alternative cultural activities under socialist regimes have been too narrowly linked with political opposition and dissent ("the underground"); as a result, questions of continuity with the post-socialist alternative and subcultural milieu have been fully left aside. The simplified narrative of repression giving way to the unhindered expansion of alternative cultural scenes and styles limits such research.

A key theme in hitherto research has been independent publishing, mostly in the form of "samizdat" and "tamizdat". Independent publishing is seen as an oppositional activity against the totalitarian state, as in the case of *drugi obieg* (second circulation) or *bibuła* in Poland or dissident samizdat in Czechoslovakia.

Figure 5.
The famous Hunky Punky Shop in Budapest, 1987 (Source: Grit and Somogyi "Manitou" Péter)

While this stream of research has been well developed so far,[32] little attention has been devoted to fanzines as a specific type of independent publishing activity. In late socialism they are placed on the margins of the oppositional samizdat, which pursued an anti-Communist agenda and was embedded in the dissident high-brow concept of culture. For instance, the first English-language monograph on the Polish independent press of the 1980s[33] and a valuable book on transnational tamizdat networks in CEE[34] both lack references to fanzines and the channels that enabled subcultural styles to cross the Iron Curtain.

32 KIND-KOVÁCS, Friederike – LABOV, Jessie (eds.) *Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond: Transnational Media During and After Socialism*. New York; Oxford : Berghahn Books, 2013.

33 DOUCETTE, Siobhan. *Books are Weapons: the Polish Opposition Press and the Overthrow of Communism*. Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017.

34 KIND-KOVÁCS, Friederike. *Written Here, Published There: How Underground Literature Crossed the Iron Curtain*. Budapest : Central European University Press, 2014.

More recently, though, Marko Zubak and Oszkár Roginer have discussed the role of the Yugoslav youth press.[35] Xavery Stańczyk have discussed the role of the alternative culture in Poland, between 1978 – 1996.[36] Literary histories of Czech samizdat,[37] however, do not cover extensively zine-making. Thus far, science-fiction fanzines from CEE, which are sometimes mentioned in the literary history of this genre, have been documented rather than analysed.[38]

To conclude, we suggest three critical starting points that would both incorporate fanzines into research on independent publishing activities in CEE and enrich the scholarly literature on subcultures in CEE. First, the simplistic narrative of "learning freedom" from the West should be deconstructed to gain a better understanding of the global interdependencies of subcultural networks. The Westernisation paradigm cannot explain how subcultural styles migrated across borders (including the Iron Curtain) and how the content of fanzines was adapted in different national and local contexts. It is important to study the different pathways of information flow within international scene networks and the various ways in which content spread through the mainstream media reporting on subcultures (sometimes framed in a moral panic discourse).

Second, the study of fanzines enables us to see the continuities across the Iron Curtain as well as across changing political regimes. Through studies of 1980s fanzines from CEE, we can demonstrate how "aesthetic cosmopolitanism" in subcultures was a reaction to consumerism in both Western and Eastern European societies even before the fall of the Iron Curtain. In the 1990s, when fanzines flourished in CEE countries, regional scenes and their actors (often zinesters) quickly became involved in international subcultural networks.

Third, existing research on fanzines and on subcultures has generally not adopted an approach that would allow for the comparison of the dynamics between scenes[39] and between local adaptations of subcultural styles, and that would integrate the theoretical perspective into this analysis (including post-digital zine-making). Research on fanzines needs to cross disciplinary boundaries to do so, but also to go beyond most of the research directly linked to the alternative communities and their cultural memory either in the case of underground cultures of late-socialist CEE or Western subcultures in European countries and USA.

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35 ZUBAK, Marko. The Yugoslav Youth Press (1968 – 1980): Student Movements, Youth Subcultures and Alternative Communist Media. Zagreb : Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2018; ROGINER, Oszkár. *A jugoszláviai magyar irodalom terei. A (poszt)jugoszláv magyar irodalom és a téralapú közösségi identitás-konstrukciók viszonya a sajtóban (1945 – 2010)*. Zenta : Vajdasági Magyar Művelődési Intézet, 2019.

36 STAŃCZYK, Xavery. *Macie swoją kulturę. Kultura alternatywna w Polsce 1978 – 1996*. Warszawa : Narodowe Centrum Kultury, 2018.

37 SKILLING, H. Gordon. *Samizdat and an Independent Society in Central and Eastern Europe*. Oxford : Ohio State University Press, 1989, PŘIBÁŇ, Michal et al. *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: edice, časopisy, sborníky.* Praha : Academia, 2018; MACHOVEC, Martin. The Types and Functions of Samizdat Publications in Czechoslovakia, 1948 – 1989. In *Poetics Today*, 2009, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 1-26.

38 CLUTE, John – NICHOLLS, Peter (eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction (Updated ed.).* New York : St Martin's Griffin, 1999.

39 There have been some attempts to overcome these limitations on material from CEE. See VENTSEL, Aimar. *Punks and Skins United: Identity, Class and the Economics of an Eastern German Subculture.* New York : Berghahn Books, 2020; NOVOTNÁ, Hedvika – HEŘMANSKÝ, Martin. Shared Enemies, Shared Friends. In SUBCULTURAL NETWORK (eds.) *Fight back.* Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2016.

With this and the forthcoming issue of *Forum Historiae*, we wish to critically contribute to overcoming these limitations in the current literature on fanzines. In this issue we present eight articles focused on various types of fanzine-making in diverse settings; most concentrate on Czech and Slovak fanzine production. Some of the research presented here (J. Almer, S. Etienne), however, relies on a comparative approach that addresses issues of cultural transfer. Furthermore, this collection of papers demonstrates how different disciplinary approaches (M. Hroch, media studies; J. Charvát and V. Prokůpková, political science; S. Etienne, human geography; A. K. K. Kudláč, literary history; O. Daniel, cultural studies; J. Lomíček and J. Almer, history) frame zine-making and how different methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative, can contribute to a better theorisation of zines. The follow-up issue (*Forum Historiae*, 2020/2) will comprise case studies of different zines produced within specific local or regional scenes in CEE.

This issue starts with a paper by Miloš Hroch (Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism, Charles University), who aims to go beyond the classic approach to zines in subcultural and media studies and propose a new theoretical framework for studying them. He argues that the material component of zines has thus far been overlooked or taken for granted. However, in the post-digital era the material has become more visible and reminds us of the intertwined relationship between the discursive and the material. This paper calls for a deeper understanding of the materiality of zines and the material networks surrounding them and by doing so points to media theory's possible contribution to historical research as well as to the reflection of historians' work in our current post-digital society.

Antonín K. K. Kudláč (Department of Literary Culture and Slavistics, University of Pardubice) has contributed a study on Czechoslovak and Czech science-fiction fanzines, which played a vital role in the history of zine-making not only in CEE, but also in the USA. He offers a rare insight into the life of the "fandom" community in the "grey zone" of late-socialist society, where fandom members were more or less tolerated. He traces the different trajectories of sci-fi fanzines after the change of political regime in 1989, examining professional magazines and publishing houses as well as local-level clubs and associations. This reflects the specific nature of the sci-fi scene, which straddles the border between social alternative and cooperation with the cultural industry.

Using qualitative methods, Ondřej Daniel (Institute of Global History, Charles University) analyses the geographical references made in Slovak fanzines at the turn of the millennium during anti-globalisation riots. He examines these references based on the functions they played for local activists. He proposes three narrative strategies that played an important role in the analysed fanzines: context, equation, and inspiration. He argues that given the relatively small population of Slovakia as well as the rather limited local tradition of anarchism and social struggle, geographical references may have played a crucial role for forming the worldview of anti-globalisation activists in this period.

The second paper to tackle the geographical framework of zine-making comes from Samuel Etienne (Life and Earth Sciences, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris), who conducts a quantitative analysis of French fanzines from the zine collection of La Fanzinothèque library in Poitiers, France. He presents the spatial and temporal aspects of references to CEE subcultures and scenes in French fanzines. He concludes that apart from the period between 1985 and 1993, when French zinesters devoted more attention to CEE, the links to scenes in CEE were largely the result of individual zinesters with roots in the region rather than of established collective networks.

In his comparison of Czechoslovak (and Czech and Slovak) and Slovenian fanzines from the 1980s until today, Jiří Almer (independent scholar), contextualises both the punk and hardcore punk scenes within the changes of political regimes. He demonstrates how the activist community in Ljubljana (including its squatting activities) gained significant visibility and acceptance, which contributed to the nearly complete disappearance of DIY fanzines in Slovenia. On the other hand, in the Czech and Slovak Republics, fanzines were important components of the hardcore-punk-linked activist movements of the 1990s, and today they are undergoing a resurgence.

In his article on Czech racist and nationalist skinhead fanzines Jan Charvát (Institute of Political Science, Charles University) compares two skinhead factions with competing ideological frameworks – neo-Nazi ideology and the nationalist ideology of *kališník* (Utraquist) skinheads, who focused on Czech national history and promoted anti-German stereotypes. Based on an analysis of two typical fanzines, he concludes that the neo-Nazi community exuded self-confidence, was involved in international networks and had political ambitions of fighting a "global racial war". On the other hand, Czech nationalist skinheads were defensive, rather conservative and solely focused on national history; and admired skinheads who found success in the mainstream cultural industry.

Vendula Prokůpková (Institute of Political Science, Charles University) also analyses Czech white power skinhead fanzines from the 1990s. She poses the question, how was subcultural capital accumulated and represented on the pages of these fanzines? She outlines three factors involved in the accumulation of subcultural capital: first, the articulation of subcultural belonging through defining the authentic and inauthentic; second, the practices of shaping what is considered to be "good taste," especially in white power music; and third, the use of zine-making to boost the zine-maker's status in the scene through self-promoting strategies that reveal the zinesters' photos, skills, stories, and so forth. She concludes that zine-making comprises a set of skills and practices generating subcultural capital in the form of status and recognition.

Finally, we present a case study of Czech football fanzines by Jan Lomíček (National Museum, Prague), who studies them in the wider context of the history of rowdies and hooligans internationally and in the Czech lands. He points out that subcultural styles within this scene have changed several times as its members have tried to avoid police surveillance. Not surprisingly, these fanzines focused on individual football clubs, but the late 1990s saw the establishment of *Football Factory*, a zine that covered football in its entirety, providing space to different fan clubs and helping

the Czech community network internationally. In later years, digital media almost completely pushed aside zine-making. Only recently have some hooligans, inspired by nostalgia, tried to revive *Football Factory*.

Although our main objective is to develop existing research on fanzines, we hope that this issue also contributes to the historiography of CEE in general. Alternative scenes played a significant role in the transformation of CEE societies in recent decades, and their impact can be traced in the broader political and cultural debates of these societies at large. Thus, research on fanzines can offer new insights from a "history from below" perspective. Alternative narratives that were presented on the pages of fanzines represent an important source for the study of social history of late socialism and post-socialism periods in Czechoslovakia and the successor states Czech and Slovak Republics. With the cross-disciplinary view in this issue and the comparative view in the forthcoming issue, we seek to open up questions that go beyond these mainstream discourses in history and cultural heritage studies in CEE.

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FORUM HISTORIAE

Not Out of Date, but Out of Time: The Materiality of Zines and Post-digital Memory

Miloš Hroch

Abstract

HROCH, Miloš: Not Out of Date, but Out of Time: The Materiality of Zines and Post-digital Memory.

The importance of zines – as documents of history and contemporary media – has recognisably increased in the past decade, and not only media scholars but also historians are paying closer attention to this type of alternative media. We have witnessed both the building of zine archives – digital and physical – and zines being acknowledged as historical resources. Traditionally, zines have been studied from the discursive perspective of subcultures, identities, fan objects and musical genres; therefore, the material component has been overlooked or taken as a matter of course. But with the post-digital situation, the material is more visible and reminds us of the intertwined relationship of the discursive and the material. This paper argues for the possible contribution of media theory to historical research and calls for a deeper understanding of the materiality of zines and the material networks surrounding them as well as the research environment for historians.

Keywords: zines, the material, the post-digital, archive, cultural memory, the post-digital memory, new materialism

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Introduction

Materiality has become increasingly important in the post-digital era. It captures the reconfiguration of our media experience and our exclusive interest in the immaterial digital environment. In other words, the pivotal aspects of our lives have already been digitised, but for different reasons we are returning to analogue media and physical formats – sometimes with a paralysing nostalgia (or rather, as a symptom of the slow cancellation of the future).[1] Our experience is not limited to this, as novel ways of creatively revising older media in a truly post-digital manner appear.[2] This approach breaks the cycle, namely it upsets the hegemony of digital immateriality and extends our perception beyond the blue screens and sets of discourses surrounding them to touch and intimacy. Not only media scholars but historians, too, could profit from this perspective.

One specific media form reveals the tactics and aesthetics behind the post-digital in the most demonstrable sense: the particular part of print culture known

1 FISHER, Mark. *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures.* London : Zero Books, 2014, p. 14.

2 BLAHA, Agnes – BOULANGER, Sylvie – CARRIÓN, Ulises – CELLA, Bernhard – FINDEISEN, Leo. *NO-ISBN on Self-publishing*. Vienna : Salon für Kunstbuch, 2017.

as zines. Zines can take various forms and are produced by different social groups (music subcultures, artists, fandoms). The simplest definition, as offered by Stephen Duncombe, is: *"Zines are noncommercial, nonprofessional, small-circulation magazines which their creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves."*[3] Zines show the dynamics between the mainstream and the periphery, where printed objects are the megaphones of resistance or are just produced by enthusiasts devoted to the stories and adventures of popular culture. Moreover, they have recently served as historical documents. This turning to the history written in zines is described by Lucy Robinson: *"This recent interest in zines from producers (aca) zinesters and researchers can be understood as a turn to the textual past to try and make sense of the digital present. On the one hand, zines and digital social networks produce similar affective networks and identity work. But zines also haunt our digital presents with the pull of the handmade, holdable, shareable objects."*[4]

Although the material components of zines – composed of the chaotic aesthetics, worn-out yellow pages, the traces of fading ink and distributed by hand-to-hand contact – are often mentioned[5] and have been acknowledged by zine researchers, the role of the material has not been fully embraced. So far, it has only played the role of "the elephant in the room" or "humble servants".[6] Such an approach ignores the interdependent relationship between the discourse and the material. This article follows in the footsteps of Timothy Morton, who called for a rediscovering of the material: *"Just as Einstein discovered a rippling, flowing spacetime, where previously objects had just floated in a void, Monet discovered the sensuous spaciousness of the canvas itself, just as later Tarkovsky was to discover the sensuous material of film stock."*[7]

With the massive process of digitising zine archives, a certain sense of loss is experienced. The digital immateriality only highlights the long-overlooked aspects of zines and, paradoxically, the material is more visible than ever. This paper calls for a deeper analysis, not only of zine content and zines as objects, but also of the material networks surrounding them. With the building of physical zine archives (or archives of independent culture) there is a whole set of practical and ethical questions concerning how to archive this history without stretching out the material aspect of it. Moreover, the materiality of zines is also important for contemporary production and includes a history which is remediated only in the simplest form of using this (at first sight) "anachronistic" media form. History is still with us and cannot be left behind.

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3 DUNCOMBE, Stephen. *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture.* Portland : Microcosm Publishing, 2008, pp. 10-11.

4 ROBINSON, Lucy. Zines and History: Zine as History. In THE SUBCULTURES NETWORK (eds.) R*ipped, Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976.* Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2018, p. 40.

5 HEBDIGE, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London : Routledge, 1979, p. 114.

6 LATOUR, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory.* Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 73.

7 MORTON, Timothy. H*yperobjects: Philosophy and Ecology after the End of the World.* Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 2013, p. 11.

This theoretical study presents a possible contribution of media theory and media materialism for historical research on reflecting the constructing of present-day memory and the irreducible role of the materiality of historical sources. An argument is made for better understanding and analytical exploration of material which is not a passive entity in the process – but at the same time, there is a need to be cautious so as not to set aside the discursive. It is believed that justice can be done to the material by extending current and often used subcultural approaches which would reveal new layers of this alternative media production. But before outlining this discursive-material theoretical model and sketching the possibilities of post-digital memory for (zine) historians, there must be an explanation of the context of the post-digital, and useful approaches in zine research with references to the material need to be contextualized.

Print in the Age of Post-digital

Throughout the 1980s, we can see an absolute fascination with virtual space, digital technologies and immateriality in popular culture. One of the most well-known and celebrated books of the cyberpunk genre is *Neuromancer* (1984) by William Gibson, which proposed the radical vision of a future where the world is ruled by corporations; computer hackers are the new heroes operating in cyberspace and a global computer network Matrix mediates consensual illusions.[8] Cyberculture is a reference point, when speaking about the blurred lines between the material and immaterial. In this sense, Nathalie Casemajor sees the 1980s and 1990s as a vanishing point for the material world and physicality: *"Cyberculture partially lost sight of the physicality of digital media in the 1980s and 1990s."*[9] Cyberculture created the hegemony of digital as a discourse, and the massive expansion of the internet and digital technologies in the late 1990s and 2000s made it a reality – and media became invisible, as Mark Deuze states in his respected book Media Life:*"(I)t seems our media are gradually disappearing from view while at the same time influencing our lives more and more in terms of our (real and perceived) control over them and their control over us."*[10] For at least the past two decades, the fields of media and communication studies have been occupied by digital immateriality. Disciplines have been shaped and focused on the practices and principles of *"numerical representation, modularity, automation, variability and cultural transcoding."*[11] This focus has further stabilised the hegemony of the digital and shifted the focus in academic fields – which is illustrated by the fact that a whole new field of digital journalism has developed.[12] As a result, the material structure of media has almost completely been forgotten. The way we consume art was radically changed by the streaming culture and digital economies/ecologies. But as a consequence,

8 GIBSON, William. *Neuromancer*. New York : Ace, 1984.

9 CASEMAJOR, Nathalie. Digital Materialisms: Frameworks for Digital Media Studies. In *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 2015, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 5.

10 DEUZE, Mark. *Media Life.* Cambridge : Polity, 2012, p. 62.

11 MANOVICH, Lev. *The Language of New Media.* Cambridge, Massachusetts : MIT Press, 2002, p. 44.

12 ELDRIDGE, Scott – FRANKLIN, Bob (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Developments in Digital Journalism Studies.* Abingdon : Routledge, 2019, pp. 515-526.

in the past decade we have witnessed an increasing interest in physical media formats, such as music culture's "retromania" symbolised by the rising sales level of vinyl records or cassettes.[13]

This brought to life the renewed popularity of media materialism and media archaeology. Jussi Parikka goes further, arguing for media geology and calling for the further theorisation of the planet's strata as a condition for media. His argument is a "green" one because it acknowledges the environmental impact of our media culture. Parikka emphasises media studies' blindness to the material, although the geological materials of metals and chemicals – which machines and data storage facilities are made of – define our media culture: *"Data mining might be a leading hype term for our digital age of the moment, but it is enabled only by the sort of mining that we associate with the ground and its ungrounding. Digital culture starts in-depth and deep times of the planet. Sadly, this story is most often more obscene that something to be celebrated with awe."*[14]

Such a condition is described by the post-digital: the integral parts of our lives have been digitised, paradoxically producing a yearning for environmental consideration of the material which can no longer be ignored. The editors of the reader Across & Beyond define the term post-digital as an attempt to establish a new way of complex thinking where everything is connected: *"The post-digital, then, provides sets of speculative strategies and poetics in an attempt to construct a complex architecture for thinking and creating within contemporary institutional, economic, environmental, and technological constraints and possibilities."*[15]

Post-digital scholars do not exclude material structures of media from the discussion. They care – with the sensitivity of media archaeologists or geologists – not only about digital environments with social media and streaming platforms but also machines, such as smartphones and tablets, as well as the people using those devices and data storage facilities. Print culture with artists, books and zines offer interesting examples to further support this argument; it highlights the importance of media materiality. Books and magazines are read on digital screens, and Alessandro Ludovico, who focuses on post-digital print culture, warns that the digital environment flattens the experience of a written text, as the sensual dimension disappears with screens. In terms of sight, paper invites more factors into perception, such as daylight and reflections of light, and highlights the materiality: *"Tactility gives direct information without other senses involved. For example, readers familiar with a specific book would be able to recognise it from the texture of its cover and its size."*[16]

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13 REYNOLDS, Simon. *Retromania: Pop Culture's Addiction to its Own Past.* London : Faber & Faber, 2012, pp. 350-352

14 PARIKKA, Jussi. *The Anthrobscene.* Minnesota : University of Minnesota Press, 2014, p. 35.

15 BISHOP, Ryan et al. (eds.) *Across & Beyond: A Transmediale Reader on Post-digital Practices, Concepts, and Institutions.* Berlin : Sternberg Press, 2016, p. 13.

16 LUDOVICO, Alessandro. The Touching Charm of Print. In BISHOP, Ryan et al. (eds.) *Across & Beyond: A Transmediale Reader on Post-digital Practices, Concepts, and Institutions.* Berlin : Sternberg Press, 2016, p. 106.

Printed objects can serve as a contemporary shield against the digital delirium: stable and static zones of empathy and intimacy between reader and writer/artist. They coexist with the digital and are hardly separable from the online world. The role of print has to be redefined in the contemporary media landscape – with the growth of e-books, the materiality regains importance. *"Paradoxically, it is this very immutability of paper which is now increasingly proving to be an advantage rather than a weakness, particularly in the context of an ever-changing (thus ephemeral) digital publishing world."*[17] We can see how the digital incorporates the interface of a printed book, while on the other hand, we can follow traces of the digital in print – the logics of hypertexts, web links leading e. g. to streaming services, printed photos taken from Instagram or even augmented reality included in books and zines. The spheres of digital and print have to converge in a more effective way. *"And so this new generation of publishers, able to make use of various new and old media without the burden of ideological affiliation to any particular one of them, will surely be in a position to develop new and truly hybrid publications, by creatively combining the best standards and interfaces of both digital and print."*[18]

Zines

When speaking about the possibilities of printed matter, zines are the most experimental platform because they are easy to create and cheap to print. In media theory, zines are positioned in the alternative media paradigm. One of the most common definitions, as expressed by Stephen Duncombe, states that: *"Zines are noncommercial, nonprofessional, small-circulation magazines which their creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves."*[19] Such niche media carry counter-hegemonic discourses and representations,[20] are participatory with non-hierarchical structures, are small-scale and not produced for financial reward (but to cultivate community, support diversity or cultural/social change) and made by amateurs (fans, subcultures, activists, artists) who create alternative distribution and production sites. Chris Atton writes that alternative media are – among others – defined by radical visual content or *"employment of reprographic innovations"*.[21] This suggests that zine communities are very material and inter-material, as various materials and printing machines are involved in the production, and zine communities are therefore an assemblage of different bodies, spaces, objects, machines and capital.

As indicated above, the material displays itself within the zine medium in various forms by the practice of graphic design, which has deeper roots in art history: it resembles the technique of recontextualisation of images or texts influenced by Dadaist and Situationists' strategies or William Burrough's "cut-up" method:

17 LUDOVICO, Alessandro. *Post-Digital Print. The Mutation of Publishing since 1894.* Eindhoven : Onomatopee, 2012, p. 155.

18 LUDOVICO 2012, p. 117.

19 DUNCOMBE 2008, pp. 10-11.

20 CARPENTIER, Nico. T*he Discursive-Material Knot: Cyprus in Conflict and Community Media Participation.* New York : Peter Lang Publishing, 2017, p. 132.

21 ATTON, Chris. *Alternative Media.* London : Sage, 2002, p. 27.

"The folding of one text onto another, which constitutes multiple and even adventitious roots (like a cutting), implies an additional dimension to that of the texts under consideration. In this extra dimension of folding, unity continues its spiritual labour."[22] Graphic design of early punk fanzines – which defined the zine visuality – was described as "cut & paste" in reference to the tools used: scissors and glue. Traces of hardly readable words, ink stains, hair and fingerprints were left on the pages. Such a chaotic layout points to another material dimension of zines: that of intermateriality, referring to the presence of various materials and layers within the same object. The editors of the reader *Ripped, Torn and Cut*, in a rare reference to the material, describe this element as the embodiment of aesthetics in the physical object: *"Fanzines, then, became an integral part of punk's challenge; the literary and visual embodiment of 'do it yourself'."*[23]

Such traces are not only helpful to media scholars, but also to historians, as Lucy Robinson shows: *"Zines help us trace the history of how we write our own histories and how we network around the histories of those who share stories with us* […]. *In particular, zines intersect with and bring something new to tensions around identity and DIY histories."*[24] Laura Oldfield Ford's zine *Savage Messiah* is the perfect example of a zine, which can be read as a document of history (Mark Ford observes the transformation of the city of London as a space where the zine is produced). Additionally, it reveals the history as a medium – in the way that it is made and by the assemblage of older printing technologies. *"Savage Messiah deploys anachronism as a weapon. At first sight, at first touch – and tactility is crucial to the experience: the zine doesn't feel the same when it's JPEGed on screen – Savage Messiah seems like something familiar. The form itself, the mix of photographs, typeface-text and drawings, the use of scissors and glue rather than digital cut and paste; all of this make Savage Messiah seem out of time, which is not to say out of date."*[25]

Such an anachronistic attitude in zine-making is significant in the post-digital. For a myriad of reasons, people are returning to older printed media, fading printing techniques and craft. While our culture is driven by the modernist yearning for the new as well as a capitalist logic which urges consumers to constantly buy updated technologies, the post-digital situation makes us reconsider the categories of new and old media and radically remix them – old media do not die, as was predicted for print culture decades ago, and they carry their history with them. This is mostly demonstrated on zines which are resurrected with post-digital sensitivity. In the new condition, zines are "not out of date, but out of time".

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22 DELEUZE, Gilles – GUATTARI, Félix. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p. 6.

23 WORLEY, Matthew et al. Introduction: Adventures in Reality: Why (Punk) Fanzine Matter. In THE SUBCULTURES NETWORK (eds.) *Ripped, Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976.* Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2018, p. 4.

24 ROBINSON 2018, p. 42.

25 FISHER, Mark. Always Yearning for the Time That Just Eluded Us. In FORD, Laura Oldfield (ed.) *Savage Messiah.* London : Verso Books, 2011, p. x.

We have also witnessed the strong movement of printed publications which are mainly visual-symbolic objects. As a consequence: the use of machines, such as a Xerox copier or Risograph, or even the weight of the paper, defines the identity of a zine as equally as the content – and zines are not only read but also tactilely sensed and experienced. In the pre-digital era zines were defined as an antidote to magazines,[26] but in the post-digital they have another dimension to position themselves against – the digital environment. As elaborated by Florian Cramer: *"Such practices can only be meaningfully called post-digital when they do not merely revive older media technologies, but functionally repurpose them in relation to digital media technologies."*[27]

Reaching the Material

There is strong potential for reaching and incorporating the material in two of the analytical models most commonly used by subcultures/fan/zine, namely Bourdieu's field theory[28] and the classic of cultural studies, Stuart Hall's concept of discourse.[29] It is necessary to keep in mind that Hall's and Bourdieu's takes on materiality are still very much concerned with meaning. However, the crux of their arguments makes a good segue to my argument. Accordingly, I will briefly outline their ideas to expose them as a possible entry point for deeper analysis of the material.

Hall's communication model of encoding/decoding (1973)[30] helped to establish audiences as actively decoding the meanings by mainstream media – and this premise defined further research in cultural studies. What may be considered surprising and exceptional in Hall's discursive theory is the thought given to the extra-discursive and the material aspect of social reality: *"Nothing which is meaningful exists outside discourse."*[31] He saw politics through the meanings and representations of (sub)cultures, which were manifested by dissonant music, colourful hairstyles and, last but not least, the pages of zines: *"Culture has ceased (if ever it was – which I doubt) to be a decorative addendum to the 'hard world' of production and things, the icing on the cake of the material world. The word is now as 'material' as the world."*[32]

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26 DUNCOMBE 2008, p. 18.

27 CRAMER, Florian. What Is Post-Digital. In *A Peer-Reviewed Journal about Post-digital Research*, 2014, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 14.

28 DUFFET, Mark. *Understanding Fandom: An Introduction to the Study of Media Fan Culture.* New York : Bloomsbury, 2013, pp. 219-222; CHIN, Bertha. It's About Who You Know: Social Capital, Hierarchies and Fandom. In BOOTH, Paul (ed.) *A Companion to Media Fandom and Fan Studies.* Oxford : John Wiley & Sons, 2018, pp. 243-255.

29 STREET, John. *Politics and Popular Culture.* Philadelphia : Temple University Press, 1992, p. 154.

30 HALL, Stuart. The Determination of News Photographs Chapter. In COHEN, Stanley – YOUNG, Jock (eds.) *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*. London : Constable, 1973, pp. 226-247.

31 HALL, Stuart. Representation: *Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices.* London : Sage, 1997, p. 44.

32 HALL, Stuart. The Meaning of News. In MORLEY, David – CHEN, Kuan-Hsing (eds.) S*tuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies.* Abingdon : Routledge, 1996, p. 232.

Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu developed the model for understanding the social reality, which is organised and structured by sets of fields[33] with a noticeable sense for the material: *"Every material inheritance is, strictly speaking, also a cultural inheritance."*[34] Without necessarily going deeper into Bourdieu's theory, the focus on material structures is evident. In his respectable analysis of the French literary field in the 19th century, he pays close attention to details regarding the relationships of publishers, authors and readers. He studies their works and creates mental maps of the literary field which includes, for instance, discussions in literary salons – the key aspect of Bourdieu's analysis is contextualisation: how subjects, objects, actors and spaces relate to each other.[35] Such focus on spaces or objects (of materialised art) led Randall Johnson to state that: *"In Bourdieu's theory, symbolic aspects of social life are inseparably intertwined with the material conditions of existence, without one being reducible to the other."*[36] Erik Neveu emphasises Bourdieu's references to the material in the same sense: *"Bourdieu energetically fought semiological approaches, and nevertheless in practice constantly devoted close attention to the forms and materiality of media and cultural products."*[37]

*F*or actors to succeed in (or across) each field means to differentiate one from another, which is connected to taste – Bourdieu did not perceive taste as a question of one's choice, but rather as an indicator of class background and whole social system.[38] Sarah Thornton (1995) elaborated on Bourdieu's concept of taste, fields, habitus and capital to create a sociological model for rave/dance/club music. She analysed hierarchies within "club cultures" and simultaneously shifted attention to underground and fashion media, while assuring the material components of the field: *"But these cryptic cultural values have material foundations; they relate to the economic, social, cultural and media conditions in which they were generated."*[39] To do so, Sarah Thornton developed the concept of subcultural capital, which can take different forms and does not represent only knowledge or skills, but also collections of material objects: *"Subcultural capital can be objectified or embodied. Just as books and paintings display cultural capital in the family home, so subcultural capital is objectified in the form of fashionable haircuts and well-assembled record collections (full of well-chosen, limited edition 'white label' twelve--inches and the like)."*[40]

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33 For instance, the cultural field, educational field, academic field or even linguistic field, in which case each field is organized and hierarchized by the distribution of capital, and capital creates the set of skills and dispositions, habitus.

34 BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 99.

35 BOURDIEU, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production.* Cambridge : Polity Press, 1993, pp. 145-215.

36 JOHNSON, Randall. Editor's Introduction: Pierre Bourdieu on Art, Literature and Culture. In BOURDIEU, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 1993, p. 4.

37 NEVEU, Erik. Bourdieu, the Frankfurt School, and Cultural studies: On Some Misunderstandings. In BENSON, Rodney – NEVEU, Erik (ed.) *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field.* Cambridge : Polity, 2005, p. 202.

38 DUFFET, Mark. *Understanding Fandom: An Introduction to the Study of Media Fan Culture.* New York : Bloomsbury, 2013, p. 221.

39 THORNTON, Sarah. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital.* Cambridge : Polity, 1995, p. 61.

40 THORNTON 1995, p. 27.

As has been shown, the material is present in zine research, but not yet fully inscribed with active and generative power – this creates an imbalance, which can be eliminated only by bringing new analytical concepts and vocabulary to the table. To give one good example, and the possibilities will be more outlined than fully developed, this could provide insight from the new materialism. The material highly resonates in current debates about environmental issues and is being rethought by the philosophers of new materialism. New materialists radically acknowledge the existence of a material world that is independent of our minds, as described by Manuel DeLanda on a larger scale: *"It is absurd to think that complex self-organising structures need a 'brain' to generate them. The coupled system atmosphere-hydrosphere is continuously generating structures (thunderstorms, hurricanes, coherent wind currents) not only without a brain but without any organs whatsoever."*[41] This sensitivity is visible in art, where the material is fully embraced.[42] Morton's analysis of the drone music of the avant-garde composer La Monte Young further serves as a perfect example of how to focus on the material even where it is not as evident by touch: *"*[…] *the material that generates a sound, such as the wood and strings and open body of a sitar. What resonates in just intonation, for example – music based on whole number harmonic intervals, such as Indian music – is a profound range of materiality. It is like the 'diabolical', ghoulish materiality of atonal music, but colored brilliant violet, magenta, and viridian."*[43]

In contrast with Hall and Bourdieu, the new materialism tends to be post-humanist as it attempts to transcend the focus on meaning and to pay more attention to the matter. Privileging the material serves as an argument against the dualisms (nature-culture, human-inhuman, discursive-material) that have been present across scholarly fields for decades – with the long-term goal of bringing balance and to study them in their entanglement.[44]

The task is how to introduce the discursive and the material and overcome stabilised dichotomies, to reach the point where two different paradigmatic positions can meet and learn from each other – one with the meaning as a starting point, the other with the material. This is not the first attempt to introduce the discursive and the material.[45] Most recently, Nico Carpentier (2017) created the useful theoretical framework of a discursive-material knot – where the metaphor of the knot serves as a perfect binder and is supported by the Deluzian metaphor of assemblage (highlighting symbiosis, cooperation, sympathy), which helps to translate this entanglement into social practice. The discursive and material share the same space, and both are articulated in the non-hierarchical relationship,

41 DeLANDA, Manuel. Interview with Manuel DeLanda. In DOLPHIJN, Rick – VAN DER TUIN, Iris (eds.) New Materialism: Interviews & Cartographies. Michigan : Open Humanity Press, 2012, p. 43.

42 PARIKKA 2014, p. 7.

43 MORTON 2013, p. 169.

44 DOLPHIJN, Rick – VAN DER TUIN, Iris (eds.) *New Materialism: Interviews & Cartographies*. Michigan : Open Humanity Press, 2012.

45 HARAWAY, Donna J. *Simians, Cyborgs and Women. The Reinvention of Nature*. New York : Routledge, 1991, p. 192; BARAD, Karen. Post-humanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter. In *Signs*, 2003, Vol. 28, No. 3, p. 821.

where one influences the other: *"…the material is always invested with meaning."*[46] The metaphor of the knot is important here: you cannot untie knotted spheres of the discourse and the material, because each sphere influences the other – the material carries meaning and discourse has a material form, both influence each other. *"The discursive-material knot is a non-hierarchical ontology that theorises the knotted interactions of the discursive and the material as restless and contingent, sometimes incessantly changing shapes and sometimes deeply sedimented. But this relation of interdependence will never result in one component becoming more important than the other."*[47] With Nico Carpentier, we applied this framework on zine culture in the case study of the Prague zine scene.[48]

Conclusion

Introducing the new materialism into the research will help to see zine production and distribution, and the zines as objects themselves with different eyes having a specific focus on thrashed pages and piled up layers of content, imperfections and the employment of anachronistic production technologies. The material is always invested with meaning, while at the same time meaning has its own material structure. This also applies to zines, which are simultaneously representational and material – and both media theory, as well as history, have to take this into account, since both spheres influence and shape each other. A better theorisation of zine materiality can help us to understand their meaning in a novel way.

Moreover, this approach may reveal the impact of changing self-publishing practices on zine content; the focus on the use of different technologies can also show how machines have affected zine production and aesthetics and the thinking of zine makers. Furthermore, the emphasis on ageing materials may generate new findings about media temporality and how history is remediated. This specific discursive-material focus will also help to better understand the materiality of archives where zines are stored and more generally the environment where historians work – and simultaneously take into account environmental contexts and impacts.

Zines remediate former media forms – for instance, by "analogisation" when the neglectful Xerox print patina is recreated with the use of graphic design software. As was shown in the case of *Savage Messiah*, zines also offer a new experience of the space and create cultural memory sites on their own – and therefore the zine presents history as a matter of both private and public. Erll & Rigney write about cultural memory relying on this re-using of media: *"In this process, memorial media borrow from, incorporate, absorb, critique and refashion earlier memorial media. Virtually every site of memory can boast its genealogy of remediation, which is usually tied to the history of media evolution."*[49]

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46 CARPENTIER 2017, p. 73.

47 CARPENTIER 2017, p. 4.

48 HROCH, Miloš – CARPENTIER, Nico. Beyond the Meaning of Zines: A Case Study of the Role of Materiality in Four Prague-based Zine Assemblages. Manuscript in review.

49 ERLL, Astrid – RIGNEY, Ann (eds.) *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory.* New

Digital immateriality affects our sense of time; as a result, past, present and future collide.[50] Material media may serve as an arrow pointing the direction on an imaginary timeline. Printed media in this sense become not out of or up to date, but out of time, as history and the present have to coexist with the promise of cracking up the possible futures – which will be touchable and material.

The post-digital strategies influence our cultural memory; therefore, they promise new possibilities for (transmedia) cultural memory sites in the way in which old media can be revised, situating them in a distinctive era without leaving out the material aspect of it. As Andrew Hoskins affirms the matter-of-course, technologies and the way people use them also impacts the memory: *"Contemporary memory is thoroughly interpenetrated by a technological unconscious in that there occurs a 'co-evolution' of memory and technology. Memory is readily and dynamically configured through our digital practices and the connectivity of digital networks."*[51] Lucy Robinson emphasises that we can learn from the experiences (of resistance or fascination): *"Different archival approaches capture different elements of zines' movement from past to present and into imagined futures."*[52]

With the foundation of new digital collections, such as ZineWiki, Open Culture or the local Czech and Slovak Archive of Subcultures, the development of post-digital memory practices can contribute: it changes our view of archives, how such spaces are transformed and how scholars operate within them. The massive digitising wave will not change the fact that archived documents are still material objects with their specific quality – this tactility and hapticity cannot be lost.

York : Walter de Gruyter, 2009, p. 5.

50 GANSING, Kristoffer. 1995: The Year the Future Began, or Multimedia as the Vanishing Point of the Net. In BISHOP, Ryan et al. (eds.) *Across & Beyond: A Transmediale Reader on Post-digital Practices, Concepts, and Institutions.* Berlin : Sternberg Press, 2016, pp. 29-44.

51 HOSKINS, Andrew. Digital Network Memory. In ERLL, Astrid – RIGNEY, Ann (eds.) *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory.* New York : Walter de Gruyter, 2009, p. 96.

52 ROBINSON 2018, p. 41.

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FORUM HISTORIAE

Czech Sci-fi Fanzines in the Era of Late Socialism and Early Post-socialism

Antonín K. K. Kudláč

Abstract

KUDLÁČ, Antonín K. K.: Czech Sci-fi Fanzines in the Era of Late Socialism and Early Post-socialism.

Fanzines have been among the most significant means of communication for the subculture of fans and "users" of the fantastic arts, so-called sci-fi (SF) fandom, since the birth of the genre. This is also the case in Czechoslovak (later Czech and Slovak) fandom, for which fanzines primarily represented the activities of SF clubs. The community of Czechoslovak fans mostly belonged to the "grey zone" of late socialist society, where fandom members were more or less tolerated. After 1989, Czechoslovak SF fandom changed into a more formally organised structure; some of the existing SF fanzines disappeared and others became the basis for professional magazines or publishing houses. However, traditional fanzines connected with SF clubs have continued. Fanzine production has at the same time gradually moved into the sphere of digital publishing (e-zines/webzines). Digitisation of fanzine publishing clearly reflects changes in SF fandom, which has been oscillating between a social alternative to and cooperation with the cultural industry.

Keywords: SF fanzines; SF fandom; participatory culture; late socialism; post-socialism

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The publication of unofficial literature in the extensive cultural-geographical area of the so-called "Eastern Bloc" in the second half of the 20th century has been the subject of much research by historians of contemporary history, literary critics and cultural anthropologists.[1] There existed an extremely wide range of publication forums, distribution channels, themes and links between the "official" and "unofficial" levels of social communication, which differed across the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Periodicals connected with the activities of various subcultures, some of them bordering on the illegal, formed a remarkable part of this publishing phenomenon.

The aim of my study will be to outline the basic characteristics of the publication activities of members of the sci-fi (or SF) fandom subculture, both in the period of late socialism as well as in the subsequent years and show both the continuities and discontinuities in this community against the backdrop of socio-cultural changes in Czech society after 1989. I understand subculture to be a social group with its own rules, which may define itself in opposition to the majority of society, but which is not completely isolated, and whose members may also be part

1 At present there is extensive secondary literature on this subject on an international level, much of which focuses on Russia, where the *samizdat* activities started. The general context for Central-Eastern Europe during the time we are considering in this study has been examined by, e.g. KIND-KOVÁCS, Friederike – LABOV, Jessie (eds.) *Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond: Transnational Media During and After Socialism*. New York : Berghahn Books, 2013.

of other subcultures; therefore, I tend towards so-called post-subcultural theory.[2] I will also try to answer these questions: During this period, in what ways did Czech SF fandom change and how did the publication of SF fanzines alter within this framework, particularly under the new economic conditions? To what extent did this subculture resist the regime before 1989, and how much sensitivity have its members shown towards social issues in the post-socialist era?

The period of change between the fall of the communist regime and the gradual social, political and cultural transformation at the turn of the 21st century also led to a significant reassessment of both the means of communication as well as, more generally, the reason for the existence of communities that defined themselves in their own way as "alternative". These changes had hardly any effect on some of these subcultures, while others were hit quite dramatically. In addition, other communities only began to develop within the new climate. As for the publication of fanzines in a Czech context, research today (the great majority being "insider research") is only starting to examine the basic outlines of what happened during this transitional period and the consequences it had for developments to come,[3] while encountering ambiguously defined basic terms, including definitions of the terms "samizdat", "fanzine" and so on.

SF Fandom

Czechoslovak SF fandom before 1989

The establishment in 1969 of the Jules Verne Club (and its rapid demise) was a foretaste of things to come. This club was the first association of lovers of fantastic literature in Czechoslovakia. However, the establishment of a fan club, later called Villoidus, by students of the Mathematics and Physics Faculty at Charles University in Prague at the end of April 1979 is often regarded as the start of Czech SF fandom.[4] Other similar SF clubs then rapidly appeared, totalling around twenty by the mid-1980s. An important milestone in the development of fandom was the first Czech national con (a meeting of SF fans), which took place in Pardubice on 23 April 1982, and later became known as the Parcon. This was also the venue for the announcement of the results of the Karel Čapek Award for literature, which is still considered the most prestigious national competition in fantastic literature. The publication of amateur magazines – fanzines (see below) – was also part of the activities of SF clubs.

Due to the rapid expansion of fandom activities, a Coordination Commission was set up in March 1983 to link the activities of the individual SF clubs; then shortly

2 See: HILLS, Matt. *Fan Cultures*. London ; New York : Routledge, 2002.

3 The last to summarize this issue during this period was HROCH, Miloš. Zkoušel si někdy hodit mentos do koly? In HROCH, Miloš (ed.) *Křičím: „To jsemjá": Příběhy českého fanzinu od 80. let po současnost*. Praha : Page Five, 2017, pp. 25-35. The Czech and Slovak Archive of Subcultures has a purely documentary role, see: http://ziny.info/.

4 KUDLÁČ, Antonín K. K. *Anatomie pocitu úžasu: Česká populární fantastika 1990– 2012 v kulturním, sociálním a literárním kontextu*. Brno : Host, 2016, p. 95.

afterwards *Interkom*[5] was established as *"a fanzine for communication between SF clubs"*.[6] The Coordination Commission convened regular "spring", and "autumn" meetings of SF clubs, and the Mlok and Ludvík awards were established to recognise exceptional achievements in fandom and were awarded regularly at Parcon. During the early 1980s, Czechoslovak fandom fully developed into the form of a loose association of fans of fantastic literature which was not centrally administered and which included several local units, its own publication network, literary competitions and special subculture awards. Naturally, this community differed in certain ways from similar associations in the USA and Western Europe.

Until 1989, Czechoslovak SF fandom had relatively few international contacts. Its members generally found out about "Western" fantastic literature through the Polish fans they were in contact with. During the 1980s, some Czech fans occasionally managed to attend international events, such as Eurocon or Worldcon (the first mention of the existence and activities of Czechoslovak fandom was at Eurocon in Ljubljana in 1983), but the local subculture remained at the edges of the international scene.[7]

Another difference was the lack of professional representatives in this subculture, as only a few full-time writers published fantastic literature. Although official publishers (Mladá fronta, Svoboda) brought out short-story anthologies by local writers, they were unable to publish a professional periodical during this period. This relates to the communist regime's attitude towards SF fandom in general – although the state-cultural apparatus outwardly supported or tolerated fantastic literature (from 1980 – 1987 there even existed the Commission for Science Fiction Literature within the Union of Czechoslovak Writers), the majority of subcultural activities bordered on "semi-legality", often officially patronised by organisations, such as the Union for Cooperation with the Army (Svaz pro spolupráci s armádou – Svazarm), central organisations of the Socialist Union of Youth (Socialistický svaz mládeže) or trade unions, though more often than not these activities occurred outside of them.[8]

The structure of Czech/Slovak SF fandom after 1989

With the establishment of a professional organisational basis, fan subculture then had to be described using two terms: Fandom and fandom. These terms describe its two sides, which only partially overlap. The word "fandom" describes the subculture as a whole, whilst "Fandom" is its formally organised "hard core", where a strong position is held by the "dinosaurs" – supporters of fandom who can remember the beginnings of this subculture – i.e. a kind of veteran. Around this core are the so-called "wild fans" – unorganised supporters of the subculture who can

5 RAMPAS, Zdeněk – OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Interkom. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949–1989:Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, pp. 256-257.

6 All of the editions of this fanzine from 1984 to today are in digitized format at http://interkom.vecnost.cz.

7 KUDLÁČ 2017, p. 96.

8 For more on these umbrella organizations: ADAMOVIČ, Ivan. V šedézóně sci-fi. In HROCH, Miloš (ed.) *Křičím: „To jsemjá": Příběhy českého fanzinu od 80. let po současnost.* Praha : Page Five, 2017, pp. 114-115, 125.

be described as *"distinctive individuals subscribing to a subculture"*, people who identify with the norms and values of the subculture, but who at the same time emphasise their own personal opinions and attitudes. New "neofans" are constantly entering fandom as part of generational changes, and they are then used as recruits for Fandom as well as new "wild fans".[9]

The aforementioned structure of Czechoslovak fandom emerged as the result of extensive social changes in 1989. The Syndicate of Fantastic Literature Authors was established in December 1989 in an attempt to create a specific writers' organisation, though nothing developed from it. In 1990 the Association of Fans of Science Fiction was formed, which still acted within the spirit of the communist "social organisations" (i.e. official state-controlled organisations), though it rapidly changed into a publication and distribution company and precursor of the "professionalisation" of fantastic literature. A spring meeting of SF clubs in Opava in early May 1990 witnessed the establishment of an official organisation covering local SF clubs, called Czechoslovak SF fandom, which was defined as an *"independent legal entity"*.[10] Following the breakup of Czechoslovakia in 1993, Fandom was formally divided into Czechoslovak fandom in the Czech Republic, and Czechoslovak fandom in the Slovak Republic, but in reality the subculture of fans has continued as Czech-Slovak, and every member of Fandom is automatically a member of both national organisations. Fandom exists to this day as a civic association.[11]

In addition to creating official organisational structures, gradual professionalisation was a feature of the local subculture of fans in the 1990s. Nearly all of the professional publishers which focused more or less exclusively on fantastic literature arose as a result of the activities of fans who were involved in fandom before 1989. Similarly, the originally amateur distribution of fanzines became the spawning ground for the publication of professional periodicals, though at the same time a certain level of "unprofessionalism" has been maintained in fanzine production.

SF Fanzines Past and Present

As has been mentioned, the publication of fanzines – amateur magazines produced by fans themselves – has been part of SF fandom from the very start.[12] The first such fanzine to be produced in Czechoslovakia was *Vega*, which has been published in Plzeň since 1977, i.e. before fandom became established. *Vega* was connected to the tramping subculture and was a supplement of the *Daily Dudlay* magazine from

9 KUDLÁČ 2016, pp. 97-98.

10 Stanovy Československého fandomu v ČR, s.z. In ČS Fandom, 2020, https://fandom.cz/index.php/statuty/5-stanovy-ceskoslovenskeho-fandomu-v-cr-z-s.

11 KUDLÁČ 2016, p. 99.

12 The first fanzines labelled in this way are connected with the start of SF fandom in the USA, see CLUTE, John – NICHOLLS, Peter. *The Multimedia Encyclopaedia of Science Fiction*. Danbury, CT : Grolier, 1995, pp. 777-779. For more information on SF fanzine in the USA and elsewhere, see e.g. WERTHAM, Fredric. *The World of Fanzines. A Special Form of Communication*. Carbondale : Southern Illinois University Press, 1973.

the Dudlaj tramping settlement.[13] Ivan Adamovič considers the first truly Czech SF fanzine to be *Sci-fi věstník* (*Sci-Fi Bulletin*), which has been published in Teplice since 1981.[14]

In Czechoslovakia, fanzines were almost exclusively linked to the individual SF clubs which formed the subculture's organisational units; the "personalzines" that were typical of Western SF fandom were rarely found in Czechoslovakia.[15] From a technical perspective these were periodicals with small print runs (from dozens to hundreds of copies), which often came out irregularly and were copied using the technology available to amateurs (cyclostyle, ormig, occasionally offset, later Xerox). Fanzines contained various reports about club activities, book reviews, opinions, interviews and original as well as translated short stories. As there were no official periodicals, these created the basic communication network for the subculture, which was independent of the official culture, while at the same time it also trained a whole generation of artists who would later become professionals. Jaroslav Olša, Jr., who at the end of the 1980s compiled an extensive bibliography of Czech and Slovak SF fanzines,[16] wrote in an overview study originally published in the magazine *Nemesis* (11-12/1996, 1/1997) that by 1990 approximately 60 fanzines with a total of around 400 individual issues had been published.[17] (Zdeněk Rampas adds the claim that *"in my inventory, there are over 550 published issues of periodical fanzines and one-off »book publications« by 1989"*).[18] There is extensive material available for researchers at the website of the collector Karel Dvořák (http://fanziny.4fan.cz), containing digitised content from some of the SF fanzines as well as a list of them.

When summing up the characteristics of Czech SF fanzines in a contemporary encyclopaedia on national samizdat writings, Zdeněk Rampas wrote that Czechoslovak fans, at least in some cases, published *"authentic samizdats"* whose content may have been *"against the regime"*. According to him, the perceived lack of popular literature and the absence of officially published specialist magazines led to the creation of fanzines, which in itself became a *"political act"*. At the same time, he acknowledges that the regime might deliberately have refrained from applying greater pressure here in order to *"allow young people to ventilate their creative energy"*. Nevertheless, it was never completely free from the risk of punishment.[19] In the introduction to the same publication, Michal Přibáň states that SF fandom in the 1980s had acquired the status of an *"unreliable, though on the whole tolerated part of literary life."* Although fantastic literature was also published

13 RAMPAS, Zdeněk. SF fanziny. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, pp. 436-437.

14 ADAMOVIČ 2017, p. 112.

15 ADAMOVIČ 2017, p. 113.

16 OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. *Bibliografie českých a slovenských fanzinů do roku 1987*. Praha : ÚKDŽ, 1988; OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. *Bibliografie českých a slovenských fanzinů za rok 1988*. Praha : ÚKDŽ, 1990.

17 OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Fanziny před listopadem 89. Vývoj a typy science fiction samizdatu. In *Fanziny*, 2019, http://fanziny.4fan.cz/fanziny.php?x=0&y=5&z=0

18 Email from Zdeněk Rampas to the author on 27 June 2014.

19 RAMPAS 2018, p. 436.

officially, much of it was still outside the direct control of state power organs.[20] I believe that these fandom publishing activities fall into a kind of *"grey zone"*[21] or *"tolerated culture"* (Přibáň also writes about a *"samizdat with a stamp"*[22]), whose creators appeared from the outside to be loyal, but internally they certainly were not.[23] Therefore, members of this subculture cannot be considered to be warriors against the regime. Other subcultures at the time operated in a similar manner; for example, in the 1980s, computer fans expanded their activities to include the publication of fanzines solely as part of Svazarm; thus, *"they were not in direct opposition to the regime, though neither were they supporting it."*[24]

From a terminological perspective, as was mentioned in the introduction, the borders between the concept of "samizdat" and "fanzine" are somewhat unclear, though current research clearly understands fanzines as one of several forms of samizdat, linking today's study of subcultures with research into contemporary social history. This definition seems to be more than adequate.

After the turning point of 1989, attempts were made to create professional magazines focused on fantastic literature either by transforming existing fanzines (the best example here is the first professional SF magazine *Ikarie*, based on the fanzine *Ikarie XB*)[25] or by establishing an entirely new periodical.[26] Some fanzine distributors set up their own professional publishing houses and often named them after the original periodicals (e.g. *Laser*,[27] *Leonardo*[28] and *Poutník* [*Pilgrim*][29]). Those traditional printed fanzines which did not want to go down the professional road experienced a temporary decline, but they began to grow again after 1991 with a new generation of fans and a wide spectrum of interests (games and films in addition to literature). *Interkom*, which continued to be seen as the "main fanzine" of Fandom, has regularly published overviews of fanzines. It is clear from these that the situation is gradually changing and the number and lifespan of printed fanzines has once again been falling since the start of the 21st century, with the latest data of this kind appearing in *Interkom* in 2004.[30] In some isolated cases, fanzines which disappeared in 1989 have been resurrected

20 PŘIBÁŇ, Michal. Poznámky pro čtenáře a uživatele. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, p. 90.

21 PŘIBÁŇ, Michal. K dějinám českého literárního samizdatu. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, p. 41.

22 PŘIBÁŇ 2018, K dějinám, pp. 37-39.

23 This is viewed similarly by ADAMOVIČ 2017, pp. 122-123.

24 ŠVELCH, Jaroslav. První kroky ve strojovém kódu. In HROCH, Miloš (ed.) *Křičím: „To jsemjá": Příběhy českého fanzinu od 80. let po současnost*. Praha : Page Five, 2017, p. 64.

25 RAMPAS, Zdeněk – OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Ikarie XB. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, pp. 251-253.

26 As a result of the division of Czechoslovakia in the 1993 the text will be exclusively about Czech SF fanzines.

27 RAMPAS, Zdeněk – OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Laser. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, pp. 298-299.

28 RAMPAS, Zdeněk – OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Leonardo. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, pp. 304-305.

29 RAMPAS, Zdeněk – OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Poutník. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, pp. 379-381.

30 A similar trend at this time also apparently affected the fanzines of other subcultures, for example, fans of heavy metal, see PALÁK, Viktor. Kronikář z bažin. In HROCH, Miloš (ed.) *Křičím: „To jsemjá": Příběhy českého fanzinu od 80. let po současnost*. Praha : Page Five, 2017, p. 43.

(*Andromeda News*, which came out again from 1992 – 2002),[31] or the periodical continued to be published irregularly, maintaining a specific function (literary--competition annuals) regardless of the changes in the situation at the time (*Kočas*, which has been publishing the winning prose of the Karel Čapek Award since 1982).[32] The only traditional SF fanzine I know of that has maintained the spirit of the original fanzines from the era of late socialism and been published uninterruptedly (if we do not include *Interkom*) is the fanzine *Světelné roky* (*Light Years*). It has been published by the Čáp husband and wife team since 1983 and focuses mainly on SF films.[33]

The first fanzine on the Internet (*Amber Zine*) appeared in the mid-1990s, but it was not until the turn of the millennium that fanzine communication began to expand into cyberspace. The original printed fanzines were gradually complemented and finally replaced by e-zines. One of the first was *Sarden*, which has been published since 2000 as part of the first Czech online newspaper, *Neviditelný pes* (*Invisible Dog*), and was organised by Fandom representatives from the generation of fans.

Here it is necessary to point out that e-zines differ from the other digital communication forums that gradually began to fill Czech media at the turn of the millennium. These include blogs, whose structure of dated records arranged chronologically from the most recent to the oldest has the character of a diary, making it more of a personalised medium.[34] Meanwhile, literary forums are open clubs which discuss amateur works of literature.[35] Contrastingly, e-zines are much more similar to traditional magazines, and as they are firmly anchored in their respective subcultures, they can be seen as the direct successors to printed fanzines, which is indeed how the majority of fans view them.[36]

The first two decades of the 21st century saw the emergence of several Czech e-zines focusing on fantastic literature, which gradually began to differentiate both in terms of themes and structure. For example, the development of *Mfantasy* (https://www.mfantasy.cz/) has been very haphazard. It was originally established in 2004 as a literary forum and thus contained only amateur short stories. In 2006 – 2007, and then again since 2012, its creators also published in parallel a type of electronic anthology ("e-magazines"), summarising most of the quarterly content of the e-zine, with the original intention of announcing literary competitions and organising an online authors' workshop. Around 2009 the periodical's structure changed to a magazine format with regular columns (reports, reviews,

31 RAMPAS, Zdeněk – OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Andromeda News. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, p. 108.

32 RAMPAS, Zdeněk – OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Kočas. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, pp. 280-281.

33 RAMPAS, Zdeněk – OLŠA, Jr., Jaroslav. Světelné roky. In PŘIBÁŇ, Michal (ed.) *Český literární samizdat 1949 – 1989: Edice, časopisy, sborníky*. Praha : Academia, 2018, p. 480.

34 PIORECKÝ, Karel. *Česká literatura a nová média*. Praha : Academia, 2016, pp. 87-135.

35 PIORECKÝ 2016, pp. 137-178.

36 I. Adamovič states that fans' web projects no longer have the character of fanzines and *"can be seen more as websites",* see ADAMOVIČ 2017, p. 122.

excerpts from books, interviews). In 2006, one fan cult (the *Twilight* series of novels by Stephenie Meyer) developed into thee-zine *Dětinoci* (*Children of the Night*): http://deti-noci.cz/. At the start it had the structure of a magazine and later expanded in scope to include the wider area of fantastic literature. *Howard* (http://www.howardhorror.cz/) was established in 2012 and focuses exclusively on horror, again with the structure of a magazine, though it comes out in the form of an e-book that is free to download. *Vlčí bouda* (*Wolf's Hole*) (http://vlcibouda.net/) and *Dagon* have been published since 2013 based on the format of the aforementioned *Sarden*, i.e. as online magazines focusing on fantasy in the broad media sense (literature, film, comics, games). In May 2018, *Dagon* (organised by some of the editors of *Mfantasy*) announced that it would only continue as a periodical on Facebook.

Therefore, the development of Czech SF fanzines went through two phases after 1989. In the 1990s, fanzines (most of them still printed) quickly gave up their pre-revolution role and were replaced by professional periodicals which basically operated the same way as abroad – they mainly provided information about clubs, and their influence spread only to a limited circle of fans. In the new millennium there were changes in the technology for producing and distributing fanzines, which also resulted in a certain change in understanding their function. The virtual format allowed readers to respond almost instantly to a published text, and at the same time the creators could continuously make updates. The external graphic design of e-zines, particularly in the new millennium, also often tried to imitate the level of professionally published periodicals, from which they sometimes took material and in some cases cooperated with in various ways in the media. Naturally, some recent Internet discussions amongst fans have revealed a nostalgia for printed fanzines, which they say contained better quality material and, most importantly, were not subservient to the "commercial influences" of today's media.[37]

"Professionalism" and "Amateurism", Commodification and Subcultural Values, High and Low

The issue of the relationship between a subculture and the rules of the free market is undoubtedly something that significantly influences the communication of the members of these communities. In his classic work *Subculture. The Meaning of Style,* Dick Hebdige describes how supposedly each subculture (looking specifically at punk) goes through a cycle of initial resistance to the majority culture before later merging with it. He mentions two forms of a subculture's integration: as a commodity, where the subculture style becomes part of fashion, and ideological, where the members of the subculture adapt to the norms of the hegemonic culture. Naturally, he acknowledges that it is very difficult to establish a clear line between commercialism and a subculture's originality.[38]

37 VANÍČEK, Lukáš. Fanzine is not dead. In *FantasyPlanet*, 27. March 2012, https://www.fantasyplanet.cz/za-obzorem/redakcni-uvodniky/fanzin-is-not-dead/.

38 HEBDIGE, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London : Routledge, 1979.

If we look at the development of fandom media in light of the above-mentioned discussions, it is impossible to overlook the fact that certain types of "commodification" occur here. Naturally, this depends on the media format and its range of technological and communication possibilities. In terms of printed periodicals, their production costs and means of distribution, it is understandable that market rules had to apply from the start, while the periodicals remained focused on the fandom public. The first professional Czech magazine focused on fantastic literature, the monthly *Ikarie*, continued the fanzine tradition when it was established in 1990, while others (*Ramax*, *Nemesis*, *Pevnost* [*Fortress*]) mainly came into existence as part of the media industry.[39] *Interkom* had a special position among printed periodicals – a fanzine in terms of its "spirit" and distribution, i.e. an unambiguously subcultural product, which at the same time is presented within fandom as parallel to professional magazines (e.g. with its inclusion in the category of Best Magazine by the Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy and Horror, which otherwise includes only professional publications), in other words as a "semiprozine".[40]

A slightly different situation occurred in the virtual sphere between e-zines. The gradual movement of fanzines to their Internet form created an area which fans thought was suitable for their creative activities, while at the same time being free of significant commercial pressures for several years. At the end of the period under investigation this situation began to change, and some e-zines became part of a publishing house or other media projects.

There are two subcultural online periodicals which can serve as general examples. *Sarden*, established in 2000 as part of Ondřej Neff's Internet newspaper *Neviditelný pes*, is today still a fans' project and to a certain degree independent of the commercial media. *Fantasy Planet*, which was set up in the same year as part of fans' activities, was bought in 2008 by the publisher Fantom Print, which came out of the fandom environment and which basically retained the original form of the website (perhaps because it also had its own e-shop). While these Internet magazines still maintain contact with the subculture from which they emerged, the increased interest in fantastic literature in the cultural industry has also encouraged the emergence of Internet periodicals, which from the outset have been commercially focused exclusively, targeting young people in particular. This was the way in which, for example, the fantastic-literature website *Fanzine* was incorporated in 2009 into *Topzine.cz*, which systematically covers the different areas of interest of today's youth, moving beyond distinctive subcultures. There are, therefore, two basic elements in the conflict between the "professional" and "amateur" approach to fantastic literature. One of them involves fans being against the elite culture from the position of a specific type of cultural production, which from their viewpoint represents a parallel to "high" culture while maintaining the subculture's originality and emphasis on sharing common values which

39 MACEK, Jakub. *Fandom a text*. Praha : Triton, 2006, pp. 52-120.

40 CLUTE – NICHOLLS 1995, p. 1990.

need not be identified with mainstream values. The second element is fans' active connection with the mass cultural industry, which does not negate the legitimacy of their own distinctive creativity and, conversely, often enriches popular products in an interesting way. The tension between these two elements brings dynamism to SF fandom and gives it the partial character of post-subcultural communities, which are more depoliticised and hedonistic, with unclear boundaries.[41] As today shows, from this perspective the community of fantastic-literature lovers is nothing exceptional – for example, since around 2000 the Czech subculture of comics fans has veered between an artistic, almost experimental concept of comics, to viewing them as "trivial entertainment".[42] It is no coincidence that these two subcultures overlap to a large degree.

Conclusion: Are All Subcultures (Necessarily) Political?[43]

From my findings it appears that since it was part of the unofficial culture of late socialism (see above), Czech/Slovak SF fandom has been apolitical, or in other words, it has not adopted any distinctive critical social positions. Even in today's world of social activism and calls for popular culture, including fantastic literature, to be "more engaged", it remains the case that this community stands apart from ideologies, including political ideologies. For lovers of fantastic literature, the genre itself in the form of literature/film/games is what is important, and they avoid using this medium as a tool for social criticism or direct subversion. Their own opinions and attitudes are coded in the way they communicate with each other, and thus they do not openly declare for a particular idea in the public realm.

In his aforementioned book, Miloš Hroch writes that, on the one hand, the publication of fanzines prior to 1989 was inspired by the local *samizdat* publications, and on the other, they tried to resemble the unattainable West. To differing degrees their creators found themselves between the "grey zone" and open encounters with the regime.[44] He also states that fanzines today are *"still the incubators of new artistic trends and detonators of social revolutions."*[45] Naturally, since the 1980s Czech fans of fantastic literature have not experienced such dramatic developments – their world has long been the world of a ghetto, where they amuse themselves with pop-culture artefacts, albeit transforming them in their own way and sharing these activities, though today mainly in the virtual world.[46]

41 MUGGLETON, David. *Inside Subculture. The Postmodern Meaning of Style*. Oxford; New York : Berg, 2000.

42 TESAŘ, Antonín. Nikdy nebudeme normální. In HROCH, Miloš (ed.) *Křičím: „To jsemjá": Příběhy českého fanzinu od 80. let po současnost*. Praha : Page Five, 2017, p. 177.

43 In recent years Czech research into subcultures has emphasized social conflict and/or the political aspects of subcultural activities, see e.g. DANIEL, Ondřej. *Násilím proti „novému biedermeieru". Subkultury a většinová společnost pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu*. Příbram : Pistorius a Olšanská, 2016; DANIEL, Ondřej (ed.) *Kultura svépomocí. Ekonomické a politické rozměry v českém subkulturním prostředí pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu*. Praha : Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2016; SLAČÁLEK, Ondřej – CHARVÁT, Jan. Setkávání na okrajových scénách. Průsečíky politického a subkulturního radikalismu v polistopadovém Česku. In *Český lid*, 2019, Vol. 106, No. 1, pp. 107-126.

44 HROCH 2017, Zkoušel, pp. 27-32.

45 HROCH 2017, Zkoušel, p. 35.

46 Whereas the more radical subcultures are returning to the "DIY" form of printed fanzines as a way of rebelling against the "mainstream" or simply for a feeling of greater authenticity. (see HROCH, Miloš. Zprávy z první linie. Proměny hardcore-punkových fanzinů v postdigitální době. In *Český lid*, 2019, Vol. 106,

The research which exists into the attitudes and opinions of Czech SF fans is based mainly on an analysis of their personal statements and shows that their ideas about the social and political situation are not particularly remarkable.[47]

Some subcultures, such as punk and radical feminism, are by their very nature critical of society, and their existence is clearly conditioned by that. Many communities, however, are significantly heterogeneous in their opinions, and their attitudes towards the majority of society vary, and the socio-cultural "centre" and "periphery" often rapidly swap positions.[48]

Therefore, not all subcultures have to be rebellious or "counter-cultural" in character, even though their members certainly do not exist in a "vacuum". In a certain way their activities have always reflected the socio-political situation of the time, most strikingly so under totalitarian regimes (e.g. the tramping[49] or swing youth[50]).

Translation: Graeme Dibble

No. 1, pp. 29-47). With their fondness for e-zines, which are structurally similar to "official" magazines, SF fans are perhaps subconsciously demonstrating a close relationship to the industry of mass culture.

47 KUDLÁČ 2016, pp. 105-111.

48 See most recently CHARVÁT, Jan – KUŘÍK, Bob. *Mikrofon je naše bomba: Politika a hudební subkultury mládeže v postsocialistickém Česku*. Praha : Togga, 2018.

49 KRŠKO, Jan et al. *Český tramping v časech formování a rozmachu*. Praha : Academia, 2019.

50 KOURA, Petr. *Swingaři a potápky v protektorátní noci: Česká swingo vámládež a její hořkej svět*. Praha : Academia, 2016.

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FORUM HISTORIAE

Places of Revolt: Geographical References in the Slovak Anarchist Press Around the Turn of the Millennium*

Ondřej Daniel

Abstract

DANIEL, Ondřej: Places of Revolt: Geographical References in the Slovak Anarchist Press Around the Turn of the Millennium.

Geographical references likely played a crucial role in shaping the worldview of Slovakia's anti-globalisation activists. The aim of this study is to provide a classification of geographical categories based on how they operate in the anti-globalisation activist press. The primary material for this study consists of two journals: Zdola ("From the Bottom") published by the Slovak section of the Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation, and Žerme bohatých ("Let's eat the rich") published by the organisation Priama akcia ("Direct action"), the Slovak section of the International Workers' Association. Geographical references in the Slovak anarchist press around the turn of the millennium provided potentially isolated activist communities with information about relevant struggles around the world. These references empowered these communities by calling on them to be a part of the global struggle. Three narrative strategies are identified: context, equation and inspiration. The differences between the two journals stem from their different ideological profiles. The qualitative research presented in this article allows for a semantic categorisation of these references.

Keywords: anti-globalisation movement, activist journals, Slovakia, anarchism, geographical references

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When leafing through the different activist journals from a period of heightened discussions about globalisation[1] around the turn of the millennium, the sheer number of geographical references in these do-it-yourself (DIY) media outlets is astonishing. The anti-globalisation movement of the late 1990s and early 2000s can be considered a truly global social movement,[2] active not only in the core capitalist countries but also in more peripheral locations.[3] The references to the global nature of the issue made in these journals connected local actors

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1 BECK, Ulrich. *What is Globalization?* Cambridge : Polity Press, 1999.

2 DELLA PORTA, Donatella – DIANI. Mario. *Social Movements. An introduction*. Malden; Oxford; Carlton : Blackwell Publishing, 1998; FLESHER FOMINAYA, Cristina. Collective Identity in Social Movements: Central Concepts and Debates. In *Sociology Compass*, 2010, Vol. 4, No. 6, pp. 393-404, DOI 10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00287.x; KRIESI, Hanspeter – KOOPMANS, Ruud – DUYVENDAK, Jan Willem – GIUGNI, Marco G. *New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. London : UCL Press, 2002; KATSIAFICAS, Georgy. *The Subversion of Politics. European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*. Edinburgh; Oakland : AK Press 2006; NAVRÁTIL, Jiří – LIN, Kevin – COX, Laurence. Movements in Post/Socialisms. Editorial. In *Interface: a Journal for and about Social Movements*, 2015, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 1-8; PICHARDO, Nelson A. New Social Movements: A Critical Review. In *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1997, No. 23, pp. 411-430.

3 WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel. *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham, NC : Duke University Press, 2004. For a summary of the current debates on postsocialist Europe, see the review essay: BIELSKA, Beata – WROBLEWSKI, Michał. Central-Eastern Europe as Postcolonially Involved (Sub)peripheries. Giordano Christian, 2015. Power, Legitimacy, Historical Legacies: A Disenchanted Political Anthropology, Wien, LIT VERLAG. In *Eastern European Countryside*, 2017, No. 23, pp. 209-220, DOI: 10.1515/eec-2017-0010.

from different geographical contexts. This played a large role in the mobilisation against what those involved perceived as neoliberal globalisation.[4] Furthermore, the topics of radical geography and cartography were regarded by many as synergic to the main quests of the anti- or alter-globalisation movement, hijacking globalisation for its own purposes.[5]

This paper emerges at the end of the decade following the 2008 crisis, at a time when the global conservative right have managed to successfully incorporate the struggle against globalisation into their nationalist agendas. The primary research goal here is to classify and analyse the geographical terms used in the anarchist press in the context of the heightened globalisation debate of the early 2000s. The aim is thus to open up the discussion based on qualitative research in order to examine the interconnectedness of different struggles at a local level. This is made possible due to the selection of a relatively small sample of two journals published in the early 2000s in Slovakia. When analysing the sample, semantic analysis was employed in order to provide pertinent answers to the central research question. The aim of this study is to provide a classification of geographical categories based on how they operate in the anti-globalisation activist press. A hypothesis may be formulated that geographical references play several crucial roles in this movement, where the dichotomy between the global and the local is of central importance. I have chosen Slovakia as an illustrative example due to the expected fragmentary results.

In terms of (fan)zines and the DIY press, readers should be made aware of the specificities of how such an activist press operates.[6] It should further be noted that the anti-globalisation movement also involved other types of actors from political currents that cannot easily be labelled as anarchist. In the anti-globalisation camp, one could also easily find (post)autonomists, certain mouthpieces of the syndicalist movement, sympathisers of the radical left and third-worldists. This "multitude" partly adopted the "alter-globalist" credo of "another world is possible".[7]

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4 AYRES, Jeffrey. Framing Collective Action Against Neoliberalism: The Case of the "Anti-Globalization" Movement. In *Journal of World-systems Research*, 2004, Vol. 10, No. 1, Special Issue: Global Social Movements Before and After 9-11, pp. 11-34; HARVEY, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press, 2005. Notes from: NOWHERE (eds.) *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism*. London; New York : Verso 2003.

5 ORANGUTANGO (eds.) *This is not an Atlas. A Global Collection of Counter-geographies*. Bielefeld : transcript, 2018; SPRINGER, Simon. Anarchism and Geography: A Brief Genealogy of Anarchist Geographies. In *Geography Compass*, 2013, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 46–60, DOI 10.1111/gec3.12022; see also the thematic issue of *Antipode* edited by Simon Springer: *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography*, 2012, Vol. 44, No. 5, pp. 1579-1754.

6 ANDERSON, Benjamin. Rising Above: Alternative Media as Activist Media. In *Stream: Culture/Politics/Technology*, 2015, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 23-33; JEPPESEN, Sandra. Becoming Anarchist: The Function of Anarchist Literature. In *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies. Art & Anarchy*, 2011, No. 2, pp. 189-213; LIEVROUW, Leah A. *Alternative and Activist New Media*. Cambridge; Malden, MA : Polity Press, 2011.

7 BIRKNER, Martin – FOLTIN, Robert. *(Post-)Operaismus: Von der Arbeiterautonomie zur Multitude*. Stuttgart : Schmetterling, 2010; BLEIKER, Roland. Politics After Seattle: Dilemmas of the Anti-Globalisation Movement. In *Cultures & Conflits*, 2002, http://journals.openedition.org/conflits/1057; ESCHLE, Catherine. Constructing "the anti-globalisation movement". In *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 2004, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 61-84; ROHRBACHER, Tomáš. Střet diskursů: zhodnocení aktivit antiglobalizačního hnutí v uplynulých deseti letech. *Working papers Fakulty mezinárodních vztahů Vysoké školy ekonomické v Praze*, 2011, Vol. 5, No. 3; WARNER, Adam. A Brief History of the Anti-Globalization Movement. In *University of Miami International and Comparative Law Review*, 2005, Vol. 12, No. 237, pp. 237-268. See also the programmatic text of the anti-globalization movement, which called attention to new forms of domination after the Cold War

With the far right's history of anti-globalisation positions already in the early 2000s, nationalists and right-wing populists have been successfully critiquing globalisation since 2008, namely by harnessing the mobilising potential of the economic crisis.[8] Other fringes of the anti-globalisation movement experienced a revival in the early 2010s during times of austerity, with Greece serving as the most striking example.[9]

The position of Slovakia at the turn of the millennium was neither at the core nor at the periphery of the capitalist world-system. Based in the successor country of former Czechoslovakia, Slovak anarchists naturally saw themselves as a part of the above-mentioned global movement, though they maintained particularly strong ties to activists from the Czech territory.[10] Some articles in the activist press published in Slovakia were edited in the Czech language and the relatively freely interchangeable language strategies were also observed among Czech activists.[11] The other perceived idiosyncrasies can be attributed to the post-socialist context. The first decade after the fall of the bureaucratic socialist regime also heralded an unprecedented geographical openness for both successor countries of former Czechoslovakia, and it was the youngest activist generation in particular which benefited from this openness. On the other hand, the post-socialist context spurred fervent anticommunism among many activists who would likely have identified with the left elsewhere in the world. For many young activists, the difficulty of coping with the legacy of communism meant the organic embracement of anarchism, which served as a libertarian but still anti-capitalist antidote to Marxism-Leninism.[12] Another key element pertaining to the post-socialist context of Central Eastern Europe and the rise in racist violence was antifascism.[13]

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and the "multitude" of actors capable of forming an opposition: HARDT, Michael – NEGRI, Antonio. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA; London : Harvard University Press, 2000 and the "multinationals" as key actors in a new type of brand-based consumerism: KLEIN, Naomi. *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies.* Hammersmith; London : Flamingo, 2000. The proximity of the anti-globalization movement can also be detected in the documentaries of Michael Moore, in particular *The Big One* (1997) and *Capitalism: A Love Story* (2009).

8 BELK, Russell. Collective Narcissism, Anti-Globalism, Brexit, Trump, and the Chinese Juggernaut. In *Markets, Globalization & Development Review*, 2017, Vol. 2: No. 3, pp. 1-8, DOI 10.23860/MGDR-2017-02-03-02.

9 See e.g.: MEZZADRA, Sandro. In the Wake of the Greek Spring and the Summer of Migration. In *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 2018, Vol. 117, No. 3, pp. 925-933, DOI 10.1215/00382876-7166092; PEREZ, Sofia A. – MATSAGANIS, Manos. The Political Economy of Austerity in Southern Europe. In *New Political Economy*, 2017, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 192-207, DOI 10.1080/13563467.2017.1370445 or the activist documentary *Ne vivons plus comme des esclaves* by Yannis Youlountas, France and Greece, 2013.

10 For Czech-based receptions of the global movement, see: KOLÁŘOVÁ, Marta. *Protest proti globalizaci: gender a feministická kritika*. Praha : SLON, 2009.

11 DANIEL, Ondřej. "Speaking in a Language They Understand": Development of Czech and Slovak Antifascism in the Post-socialist Years. Manuscript in review for *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, special issue: "Global Cultures of Antifascism, 1920–2016."

12 For the Czech context (probably not entirely valid in Slovakia), see: HANLEY, Séan. *The New Right in the New Europe. Czech Transformation and Right-wing Politics, 1989 – 2006*. London; New York : Routledge, 2008. For reflections of activists themselves, see: JANA (podľa materiálov ORA Solidarita). Socializmus zdola v Ruskej revolúcii. In *Zdola*, 2002, No. 5, January, p. 10.

13 KELLER, Mirja, KÖGLER, Lena, KRAWINKEL, Moritz, SCHLEMERMEYER, Jan. *Antifa: Geschichte und Organisierung*. Stuttgart : Schmetterling 2018. For the antifascism reflected in the primary material: -vg-. Správy z domova. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, August, p. 3; DANIEL, Fero. Začína to nevinne. In *Žerme bohatých*, 2002, No. 4, December, p. 5.

Sources

The primary materials for this study were retrieved with the help of *Lidiap* (List of digitised anarchist periodicals),[14] an internet-based repository of freely accessible digitised anarchist journals/newspapers administered by the Berlin-based Bibliothek der Freien.[15] The two journals can be considered as representing different ideologies. While both can be described as anarchist, there are perceptible differences between the two. The first, *Zdola* ("From the Bottom"), was published by the Slovak section of the Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (ČSAF)[16] and can be described by its relatively unproblematic acceptance of the anti-globalisation movement. Although it represented a much larger and arguably more important territory, the Slovak section was presented by the ČSAF as being at the same level as that of Moravia, Central, Eastern or Southwestern Bohemia.[17]

Eight regular and three special issues from the period August 2000 – January 2004 were retrieved and analysed for this paper. ČSAF has been a member of the International of Anarchist Federations (known as "IAF") since 2003. Politics were prioritised over lifestyle, which was first reflected in *Zdola* (6/2003) in critiques of the undignified behaviour of "Alco-punks" at manifestations and other mobilisations. Furthermore, the signatures or acronyms of the authors started to appear with increasing frequency, something which had been virtually unseen in the past. There was also notable overlap with the positions of the radical left, in particular in the reprint of a Slovak translation of an article written by *Le monde diplomatique* editor-in-chief Ignacio Ramonet by the leftist web journal *Nové slovo*.[18] The trend of the leftist internationalisation of the Slovak section of ČSAF was, however, already reversed in the following edition of *Zdola* (7/2003). This took the form of two pages almost exclusively dedicated to local topics, with the sole exception of contextualising the May Day tradition of the USA.[19]

ČSAF Slovensko	ČSAF střed	ČSAF Morava	ČSAF východ	ČSAF jihozápad
ČSAF Poste restante 851 06 Bratislava 57	ČSAF P.O. BOX 223 111 21 Praha 1	Vladimír Futák Smetanova 3 750 00 Přerov	Pavel Houdek P.O. BOX 41 565 01 Choceň	ČSAF P.O. BOX 40 385 01 Vimperk
csaf_sk@hotmail.com	*praha@csaf.cz*	*morava@csaf.cz*	*vychod@csaf.cz*	*jihozapad@csaf.cz*

Figure 1. Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation contacts, June 2001. (Source: author's archive)

14 An English version of the website can be found at https://www.bibliothekderfreien.de/lidiap/eng/ stating, *"Magazines/Newspapers are included in Lidiap if they fulfill* [sic] *the criterion ›anarchist‹ according to the regulations of Datenbank des deutschsprachigen Anarchismus - Pressedokumentation (Database of German Language Anarchism - Press Documentation). They are available for free download (i.e. free of charge and without registration) on the internet, preferably in pdf format. There are no restrictions in regards to language, place or year of publication."*

15 Anarchistische Bücherei im Haus der Demokratie, Greifswalder Str. 4, 2. Hof, Raum 1102, 10405 Berlin (Prenzlauer Berg), Germany.

16 LINHARTOVÁ, Lucie. *Československá anarchistická federace*. MA thesis. Praha : Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Fakulta sociálních věd, 2014.

17 For example contacts in a special issue of *Zdola*, "Street party in Bratislava", 9. June 2001, p. 4.

18 RAMONET, Ignacio. Sociálna vojna. In *Zdola*, 2003, No. 6, January, p. 4.

19 -mh-. Historické koreně tradície 1. mája. In *Zdola*, 2003, No. 7, May, p. 1.

The second journal, *Žerme bohatých* (ŽB, "Let's eat the rich") was published by the organisation *Priama akcia* ("Direct action"), which labelled itself as the Slovak section of the International Workers' Association. Following the division of the anarchist movement, as identified by Murray Bookchin,[20] ŽB promoted social anarchism, or more accurately anarcho-syndicalism, with a deeper focus on local struggles, such as Slovak strikes in the railway and education sectors. However, ŽB also reported on strikes and syndicalist struggles from around the world. The sample used in this study includes three regular and three special issues from the period December 2002 – August 2003, i.e. from the period following the zenith of the anti-globalisation movement. Distant echoes of the movement can be observed by the use of the motto *"Think locally, act globally"*, reprinted in the special issue of ŽB dedicated to the 2003 railway strike in Slovakia.[21] It is also worth noting that the ŽB special issue "Strike in the education sector" of June 2003 provided no geographical references whatsoever.

Figure 2. *Žerme bohatých* heading, December 2002: "Let's eat the rich, newspaper of those hated and feared by the rich elite". (Source: author's archive)

For the sake of this study, I propose the following classification of geographical references gleaned from the two journals:

1. Action!
2. Strike
3. Empire
4. South
5. Roots

Of course, most of these categories are fluid and some of the obtained information could be allocated to more than one category. In addition, there are several geographical references which did not fit in with any of the classifications. Hyperboles and similes are examples of such outliers, such as *"In Prague there was Kosovo"*,[22] referring to the violence in the streets during the protests of September 2000. Furthermore, the denomination of the "Soviet Union" was not employed in geographical terms, but rather referred to the oppressive political system based on the hegemony of the Stalinist party.[23]

20 BOOKCHIN, Murray. *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: the Unbridgeable Chasm*. San Francisco; Edinburgh : AK Press, 1995.

21 Ako sa organizovať? In *Žerme bohatých* (Špeciálne vydanie), 2003, January, p. 2.

22 DROBEC. Názory. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October, p. 10.

23 NATO? Nie, ďakujem. In *Zdola* (Špeciálne vydanie), 2002, Summer, p. 1.

Action!

References about manifestations and interventions, including local ones, such as May Day, street parties, picketing and the dissemination of leaflets, can all be included in the same category. The special issue of *Zdola* published for a street party in Bratislava on 9. June 2001 generated reports about May Day venues around the world and was particularly fruitful in this regard. Capitals of countries close to Slovakia were highlighted, such as Prague, Warsaw, Vienna and Berlin. Furthermore, important centres for the May Day 2001 events in Europe were listed, including Amsterdam, Dublin, London and Athens. Finally, overseas destinations were also mentioned: Seoul and information compiled from different cities in Australia and the USA was included in the same report.

Detailed information about the manifestations against economic globalisation during the meeting of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund leaders that took place in September 2000 in Prague proved to be the most important and prominent geographical reference. Prior to the manifestations, mobilising information on the Prague-based coalition of various protest groups, named INPEG (Inicativa proti ekonomické globalizaci, "Initiative against economic globalisation"), was diffused in *Zdola*.[24] The following issue provided a detailed report from the protests in Prague,[25] which was contextualised with respect to other localities of anti-globalisation mobilisation, such as Seattle, Melbourne, Washington, Florence or those anticipated in the Alpine resort of Davos. The special issue of *Zdola* for the street party in Bratislava in June 2001 also called on readers to attend future events in Prague, Gothenburg, Barcelona and Salzburg.[26] The following issue of *Zdola* yielded reports from protest events in Gothenburg and Genoa.[27]

Reports from Prague and Genoa often discussed the issue of police violence. The primary problem in Prague was the mistreatment by police of those arrested during the violent portion of the manifestations.[28] As of July 2001, police violence and the violent repression of the demonstrations in Genoa became a widely discussed topic. Genoa became a symbol of state repression against a variety of forms and strands of the anti-globalisation movement.[29] *Zdola* had a honed focus on covering the protests in Genoa.[30] An emblematic turning point was when the police killed protester Carlo Giuliani, resulting in manifestations of solidarity in Prague and Bratislava.[31] Furthermore, ŽB published direct testimonials from Genoa.[32] Depictions of police violence during the anti-globalisation protests were frequently

24 INPEG – Praha 2000. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 1, August, pp. 1-3.

25 INPEG – Praha 2000. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October, pp. 4-10.

26 Advertisment in *Zdola* (Špeciálne vydanie), 9. June 2001, p. 3.

27 MARTIN. Goteborg a Janov – ako ďalej? alebo dôvod na zamyslenie. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, August, pp. 8-9.

28 -pb-. Policajná prax – výpoveď zadržaného člena ČSAF. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October, p. 10.

29 ANONYMOUS EDITORS. *On Fire. The Battle of Genoa and the Anti-capitalist Movement*. London : One-off Press, 2001.

30 -vg- – JANA. Správy zo zahraničia. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, August, p. 4.

31 -vg-. Správy z domova. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, October, p. 3.

32 Svedectvo z protestov v Janove. In *Žerme bohatých*, 2001, No. 1, p. unknown, reference in the advertisement of past issues in *Žerme bohatých* (Špeciálne vydanie), 2003, No. 2, January, p. 2.

Figure 3. Protesting miners of the Solidarity 80 trade union, *Žerme bohatých*, 2002, No. 4, December, p. 1. (Source: author's archive)

reflected even in mainstream cinematography, with movies such as *Battle in Seattle* (2007) and *Diaz – Don't Clean Up This Blood* (2012).

It is evident that anti-globalisation protesters were not always peaceful, as some took to the streets well prepared for clashes with the police. I have argued elsewhere that such a spectacular police presence with an electrifying atmosphere, reminiscent of "states of emergency", carefully documented and diffused with "riot porn", was a key element in fuelling the violent ecstasies of such fringes of protesters.[33] Furthermore, the repressive state apparatus often failed in differentiating violent and non-violent protesters and, given the bitter experiences with police violence, it was with a certain satisfaction that ŽB published a report on the repression of the police strike in Madrid with the headline *"When cops beat cops"*.[34]

Strike

Other types of actions and activities stemmed from the syndicalist tradition and received ample attention in ŽB in particular. *Zdola* also presented information about the struggles of workers, such as the workers' blockade of a shutdown cable-manufacturing plant in Ozarów (Poland).[35] ŽB merged the aesthetics of "riot porn" with the agenda of workers' struggles by publishing a picture of protesting miners of the Solidarity 80 trade union attacking the police. The journal also covered protests against the closure of the ironworks in Laziska near the Silesian town of Tychy (Poland).[36] The same issue of ŽB also covered the workers' struggles in the Rydygiera hospital in Wroclaw and the Szczecin shipyards. In addition to Poland, a country geographically close to Slovakia but with a radically different tradition of workers' struggles, ŽB reported closely on the general strike in Italy.[37] In this context, the journal largely sympathised with the grassroots unions

33 DANIEL, Ondřej. "Wildlife". Ecstatic practices of hardcore football and extreme music fans during the Czech and Slovak post-socialism. In *Český lid*, 2019, No. 106, p. 69-83. See also: RAZSA, Maple John. Beyond "Riot Porn": Protest Video and the Production of Unruly Subjects. In *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, 2013, Vol. 79, No. 4, pp. 1-29, DOI:10.1080/00141844.2013.778309.

34 Keď fízel bije fízla. In *Žerme bohatých*, 2002, No. 4, December, p. 6.

35 -pt-. Krátke správy. In *Zdola*, 2003, No. 6, January, p. 2.

36 Poľský hospodársky zázrak v ruinách. In *Žerme bohatých*, 2002, No. 4, December, p. 2 and 6.

37 Talianski radoví odborári v generálnom štrajku! In *Žerme bohatých*, 2002, No. 4, December, p. 2

(*comittati di basi*) against the reformist and centralist Italian General Confederation of Labour (Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, known as "CGIL").

ŽB also informed readers of several other workers' struggles around the world, often in the form of short notices. In March 2003 it published reports about such geographically diverse activities as the wild strikes in Canada, repression of the tram drivers' strike in Prague, protests of workers of the French Newell factory in Nègrepelisse against offshoring initiatives, Belgium strikers taking their boss hostage and the violence of strikers at the Doosan factory in Changwon, South Korea.[38] A special 2003 issue of ŽB dedicated to the railway strike in Slovakia revealed information about struggles in the railway sector around the world. Strikes in France, Netherlands, Germany, England, Korea, Scotland, Kenya, Israel, Sri Lanka and Nigeria were compared alongside the activities of strikers in the Slovak localities of Bratislava, Trnava, Trenčín, Piešťany, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Žilina, Banská Bystrica, Košice, Prešov, Vranov nad Topľou, Humenné and Trebišov.[39] ŽB exhibited a similar narrative strategy of aligning international struggles with local ones as early as December 2002 in their coverage of the McDonald's Workers Resistance and solidarity actions in Banská Štiavnica, Trnava, Bratislava and Košice as well as in Great Britain, New Zealand, Italy, Germany, France, Russia, Mexico, Slovenia, Australia, Denmark, Spain, Sweden, Northern Ireland and Serbia.[40]

Empire

Further geographical references in the two journals related to places understood as the territory of the enemy. I have selected the term "Empire" to refer to the common denominator here. The above-quoted book by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri became a widely accepted theoretical framework even for the anti-globalisation activists themselves. It considers the Empire to be a sum of practices carried out through the concept of deterritorialisation. Many such references, even if undoubtedly geographical, are thus not necessarily territorial. The World Trade Organisation (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) can serve as examples here.

Similarly, the activities of the Group of Seven (G7) were chided for intensifying global inequality, securing the power of rich countries and exploiting the poor. Both journals were also similarly critical of certain prominent G7 members – the USA and to a certain extent also the European Union (EU).[41] *Zdola* covered the protests against the EU summit in Gothenburg, summarising the message as one of *"against Europe of corporations, against Europe stepping on human*

38 -mt-. Z hlavných správ sa nedozvieš, že... In *Žerme bohatých*, 2003, No. 5, March, p. 2.

39 Boje železničiarov vo svete. In *Žerme bohatých* (Špeciálne vydanie), 2003, January, p. 2.

40 Zákaz odborov, stres, nízke mzdy. McDonald's je skrátka fajn! In *Žerme bohatých*, 2002, No. 4, December, p. 4.

41 For a detailed analysis of European anti-Americanism, see: BEHRENDS, Jan C. – KLIMÓ, Arpad von – POUTRUS, Patrice G. *Antiamerikanismus im 20. Jahrhundert: Studien zu Ost- und Westeuropa*. Bonn : Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 2005. For the context of the left-wing oriented critic of the European Union, see: DURAND, Cedric (ed.) *En finir avec l'Europe*. Paris : Fabrique, 2013; or KOVAČEVIĆ, Nataša. Storming the EU Fortress: Communities of Disagreement in Dubravka Ugrešić. In *Cultural Critique*, 2013, Vol. 83, pp. 63-86.

rights and closing itself vis-à-vis the refugees."[42] It also saw EU economic policies as protecting the interests of large corporations.[43] Certain EU and G7 member states, such as Germany and France, were also criticised for merchandising military equipment.[44] Another negative geographical reference in *Zdola* was that of the Vatican.[45] In an issue focusing primarily on John Paul II's visit to Slovakia, the policies of the papal state were linked to the spread of AIDS in Africa due to Catholic restrictions on contraception.

ZDOLA!

vydáva ČSAF / IAF

Československá anarchistická federácia - Slovenská sekcia Internacionály anarchistických federácií

IV. ročník # 8 január 2004 dobrovoľný príspevok

Ateizmus? Antiklerikalizmus?
Odmietnutie náboženstva?

Ústrednými pojmami tohto čísla sú náboženstvo, cirkev a viera. Keďže pre mnohých ľudí sú tieto pojmy totožné, považujeme za dôležité objasniť ich odlišnosti a takisto zaujať k nim stanovisko. ČSAF vydala svojho času nálepku zhrňujúcu základné princípy anarchizmu, medzi ktorými bol uvedený aj ateizmus, čo vyvolalo širokú diskusiu o oprávnenosti použitia tohto pojmu.

V prvom rade treba zdôrazniť, že sme zásadne proti cirkvi, odmietame túto inštitúciu a obviňujeme ju z mnohých obludností, cez inkvizíciu, násilnú kristianizáciu atď. Nie je však zámerom tohto článku rozoberať historické udalosti, pretože sú pristupné v akejkoľvek učebnici dejepisu. (Vzhľadom na náš región som menovala počiny krestanskej cirvi, neznamená to však, že je jediná, ktorá sa snažila všetkými prostriedkami získať moc.) Cirkev kritizujeme jednak po formálnej stránke ako prísne hierarchizovanú inštitúciu, ktorá je veľmi podobná štátnemu aparátu, a naša kritika sa vzťahuje aj na jej obsahovú stránku. Úlohou cirkvi je šírenie náboženstva, získavanie stále väčšej podpory a nových privržencov. Tu sa dostávame k pojmu náboženstva. Mám namysli konkrétne krestanské náboženstvo,i keď naša kritika sa pri ňom nezastavuje. Náboženstvo býva definované ako súhrn dogiem, istých rituálov, morálneho kódexu, viery v autoritu boha. Pre anarchistov je neopodstatnené podrobovať sa autorite, v tomto prípade bohu, ktorý má byť jednak pôvodcom všetkého a jednak zárukou šťastia, a to tou jedinou. Boh, stelesnený cirkvou, má predstavovať nielen centrum dobrého života, ale aj morálku, teda cestu, ako k takémuto životu dospieť.

Cirkev a ani boh nie sú zárukou morálky. Morálku nosíme sami v sebe. Neveríme v Boha, ktorý nám zaručí šťastný život, ktorý za nás bude riešiť problémy, neuznávame snahu o ovládnutie človeka cirkvou, nechceme sa vzdávať tohto života kvôli prísľubu čohosi vzdialeného a neznámeho. Nechceme sa hrbiť pred „zrakom cirkvi a boha". Chceme žiť tu a teraz, podieľať sa aktívne na riešení problémov tohto sveta, snažiť sa o zmenu fungovania spoločnosti, o prehodnotenie vzťahov a ich znovuvybudovanie na princípoch slobody, rovnosti, spolupráce a solidarity. Toto je naša morálka.

Myslíme si, že náboženstvo oslabuje aktivitu jednotlivca, keď mu berie vieru v seba samého ako schopného riešiť veci a radí mu prenechávať zodpovednosť na boha, ktorý raz nastolí konečný, spravodlivý poriadok vo svete. Stačí byť len poslušný a trpezlivý.

Neodmietame vieru ako taký. Tá je v konečnom dôsledku osobnou záležitosťou každého. Odmietame však také jej prejavy, ktoré bránia slobode človeka. Nielen cirkev, ale samotné náboženstvo inštitucionalizuje vieru a požaduje podriadenie sa a poslušnosť najvyššej autorite, z ľudí robí neustálych hriešnikov a ponížených kajúcnikov.

Ateizmus nechápeme ako odmietnutie viery ako takej, sme však proti viere v autoritu boha (a vôbec nie je dôležité, akým menom je pomenovávaný), boha, ktorý bol postavený na piedestál vysoko nad nás, zároveň však tak ďaleko od nás.

Nie sme si zajedno v tom, čo čaká človeka po smrti, či existuje niečo ako duša a aký je účel vesmíru a života; toto sú otázky, ktorými sa zaoberajú európski filozofi vyše dva a pol tisíc rokov a ti ostatní ešte dlhšie, a jednoznačné odpovede na ne stále neexistujú. A práve preto sa spoliehame na to, čím disponujeme - kritickým myslením, rozumom, schopnosťou komunikácie a spolupráce a to nás núti zamýšľať sa nad usporiadaním sveta, nad spravodlivosťou, nad mocou, nad postavením človeka atď. A tak prevzať iniciatívu do vlastných rúk a snažiť sa vytvoriť iný svet už tu a teraz, keď vieme, že je možný.

-jr-

Figure 4. *Zdola*, 2004, No. 8, January. (Source: author's archive)

One of the geographical references that was often described as being antagonistic to anti-globalisation positions was that of NATO. Slovakia did not become a NATO member until 2004, five years later than Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. The neighbouring country of Austria remained neutral. In the early 2000s, the Slovak public debate surrounding NATO was a relatively heated one, with anarchist journals taking a firm anti-NATO stance. This was also evidenced in *Zdola,* which published a feature on NATO for its issue in August 2001.[46] In January 2002 it also mobilised readers to rally against the NATO summit in Munich that was held the following month.[47] Critiques of NATO were often made in connection with references to international conflicts.

These were undoubtedly conceived of as imperialist wars, and the critique of militarism can be seen as a critique of the Empire. A special issue of *Zdola* titled *"Against war"* understood *"imperialist wars"* as *sine qua non*: *"There is no capitalism without wars."*[48] One of the international conflicts criticised in the anarchist press

42 -vg-, Jana. Správy zo zahraničia. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, August, p. 4.
43 IUR. EÚ? Frázy, frázy, frázy... In *Zdola*, 2003, No. 6, January, p. 6.
44 Nie je kapitalizmus bez vojen! In *Zdola* (Špeciálne číslo proti vojne), 15. February 2003, p. 2.
45 -iur-. Pápež? Nepápem! In *Zdola*, 2004, No. 8, January, pp. 2-3.
46 *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, August.
47 Proti NATO v Mnichove. In *Zdola*, 2002, No. 5, January, p. 9.
48 Nie je kapitalizmus bez vojen! In *Zdola* (Špeciálne číslo proti vojne), 15. February 2003, pp. 1-2.

was the USA's involvement in Afghanistan.[49] *Zdola* would later go on to criticise the Afghanistan mission for securing the interests of the US petrol corporation Unocal.[50] A similar reference was made regarding Iraq, where a controversial USA-led coalition invaded the country in March 2003.[51] ŽB, in its special issue titled *"Let's eat the rich and their wars"* reported on the *"new maps of the world"* that these missions were drawing.[52] ŽB also cited examples of the resistance against "imperialist wars", such as the blockade of the Darby military camp near Pisa (Italy). In Ireland, anti-war protesters blocked access to Shannon Airport.[53]

South

Many anti-globalisation activists understood the centres of the global Empire to be synonymous with the wealthy North and the powerful West. Their "spaces of hope", on the other hand, were often located in the global South.[54] In this regard, the region of Zapatist Chiapas was the most referenced by the anti-globalisation activists. This was perceived by many to be a social experiment deserving of attention. The Slovak activist press often mentioned two Czech books about Chiapas.[55] *Zdola* also presented picturesque visuals of masked Zapatistas in traditional clothing.[56] In addition to Chiapas, several other struggles in the global South were highlighted, such as the movement of the landless MST (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra) in Brazil,[57] the strikes in San Salvador and Bolivia and other social struggles.[58] It is up for debate as to whether or not the accounts of Saudi Arabia and Turkey can be assessed in tandem with the South. However, given the active involvement of these two countries in the practices of the Empire, the image they evoked was predominantly a negative one.[59] This was primarily due to the negligence of human rights as well as the Kurdish movement, which attracted a number of sympathisers from anti-globalist camps.

A notable portion of the information on the struggles in the global South referred to Argentina, where local social movements organised a grassroots resistance against the budget cuts ordered by IMF after the country had gone bankrupt.[60] The general issue of the countries indebted to the IMF as well as the possible

49 Prípad Afganistan. In *Zdola* (Špeciálne vydanie), 2002, Summer, p. 4.

50 SLAČÁLEK, Ondřej (ČSAF střed). Mýty a polopravdy o válce v Afghánistánu. In *Zdola*, 2002, No. 5, January, pp. 4-5.

51 Vojna v Iraku. O čo ide a ako ju ochromiť. In *Žerme bohatých*, 2003, No. 5, March, p. 1 and 6.

52 Vojna v Iraku vo faktoch. In *Žerme bohatých* (Špeciálne číslo), 2003, March, pp. 1-2.

53 TULÍK, Michal. Proti vojne boháčov a politikov! In *Žerme bohatých* (Špeciálne číslo), 2003, March, p. 1.

54 For a Marxist analysis of utopian spatiality under globalization, see HARVEY, David. Contemporary globalization. In HARVEY, David. *Spaces of Hope*. Edinburg : Edinburg University Press, 2000, pp. 53-72.

55 MÁCHA, Přemysl. *Plamínek v horách, požár v nížině: indiánské povstání v mexickém Chiapasu*. Brno : Doplněk, 2003; PEČÍNKA, Pavel. *Od Guevary k zapatistům – přehled, složení a činnost gerilových hnutí Latinské Ameriky*. Brno : Doplněk, 1998.

56 *Zdola*, 2001, No. 3, April, pp. 1-2; *Zdola*, 2003, No. 6, January, p. 2.

57 -mh-. Pôda je naša. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October, p. 11.

58 -mt-. Z hlavných správ sa nedozvieš, že... In *Žerme bohatých*, 2003, No. 5, March, p. 2.

59 NATO? Nie, ďakujem. In *Zdola* (Špeciálne vydanie), 2002, Summer, p. 1.

60 -vg-, Jana. Správy zo zahraničia. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, August, p. 4; Správy. In *Zdola*, 2002, No. 5, p. 3; -mh-. Argentína rok po povstaní – nádeje a sklamania. In *Zdola*, 2003, No. 6, January, p. 2; TULÍK, Michal. Útok na železnice v ďalších štátoch. In *Žerme bohatých*, 2003, No. 5, March, p. 3.

remission of debt fed sentiments of global injustice along with the mobilisation strategies of the anti-globalisation movement. Anti-globalization activists empowered their comrades from the global South to take a more active stance in global economic relations. They also considered the South to be a passive subject of the North-based Empire, and events such as the Kontrasummit in Prague[61] or the 2001 World Social Forums[62] were meant to balance this dependency.

The Slovak activist press also shed light on the interests and questionable practices of multinational corporations in countries of the global South, such as Shell in Nigeria or Oxy in Ecuador. Their activities were admonished for having a direct impact on ecological devastation and for suppressing workers' rights campaigns.[63] As has been mentioned, Unocal was accused of establishing geopolitical interests in Afghanistan in order to secure an oil pipeline.[64] In addition to the Southern references of the Nile Delta, Bangladesh and the rainforest, *Zdola* also highlighted the incidence of ecological devastation in the form of biotech and GMO contamination of the Danube and the Black Sea. The journal mentioned these pollutants in addition to the heavy metals and oil that polluted the river running from the north-west to the south-east, as well as the sea.[65]

The final set of references of this sort pertained to migration and refugee advocacy. *Zdola* understood state borders predominantly as separating the rich North from the poor South.[66] Particular attention was paid to the history of the Schengen Area.[67] It was also noted that territory agreements could be nullified from one day to the next, as exemplified by the efforts to repress the trans-frontier movement of anti-globalisation protesters to Genoa.[68] The same *Zdola* issue also presented a report from an anti-racist festival in Athens supported by immigrant communities, published with a DIY computer image of the slogan *"Crash fortress Europe"*. In regard to pro-migrant and pro-refugee activities, *Zdola* also covered the militant camp (called the "bordercamp") in Ustrzyki Górne, in the far south-east of Poland, close to the border with Ukraine and Slovakia.[69] It also promoted the "No Border" network with its different "bordercamps" in Tarifa (southern Spain), Petišovci (southern Slovenia), Białystok/Krynki (eastern Poland) and Frankfurt am Oder (eastern Germany).[70] Lastly, *Zdola* also published information about Australia's discriminatory migration policies and the migrant revolts in the country's detention centres.[71]

61 INPEG – Praha 2000. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October, p. 5.
62 SMITH, Jackie (ed.) *Handbook on World Social Forum Activism*. Oxon; New York : Routledge, 2016.
63 Globálny kapitalizmus. In *Zdola* (Špeciálne vydanie), 9. June 2001, p. 2.
64 Prípad Afganistan. In *Zdola* (Špeciálne vydanie), 2002, Summer, p. 4.
65 Globálny kapitalizmus. In *Zdola* (Špeciálne vydanie), 9. June 2001, p. 2.
66 Žiaden človek nie je ilegálny. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 1, August, p. 6.
67 Martin. Trvalá sloboda? In *Zdola*, 2002, No. 5, January, p. 6.
68 -iur-. Totálna kontrola. In *Zdola*, 2004, No. 8, January, p. 8.
69 Žiaden človek nie je ilegálny. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 1, August, p. 6.
70 noborder network. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, August, p. 5.
71 -pt-. Krátke správy. In *Zdola*, 2003, No. 6, January, p. 2.

Roots

Another set of geographical references alluded to international sister organisations and the places of origin of different activists as well as places important for anti-globalisation social movements. *Zdola* thus identified activists from the Slovak towns of Trnava, Košice and Prešov among the participants of the street party in Bratislava on 10. June 2000.[72] One year later, however, the journal expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of activities outside of Bratislava.[73] When reporting on the anti-WB and anti-IMF activities and the demonstrations that took place in Prague in September 2000, activists from Italy, Greece, Turkey, Brazil, India and Nicaragua were identified.[74]

Historical places that played a significant role in the anarchist movement, such as France in 1968, were also referred to.[75] It is important to note that *Zdola* did not limit its focus to the Latin Quarter in Paris as the crux of the student movement but also reported on occupied workplaces elsewhere in France, such as Sud Aviation in Nantes, Renault in Cléon and Flins, and the Peugeot factory in Sochaux.[76] The historical experiences of anarchist Ukraine and Spain in the interwar period are further examples of those on the margins of history and geography.[77] A rather specific mention in *Zdola* referred to an eco-anarchist experiment in Saskatoon (Canada).[78]

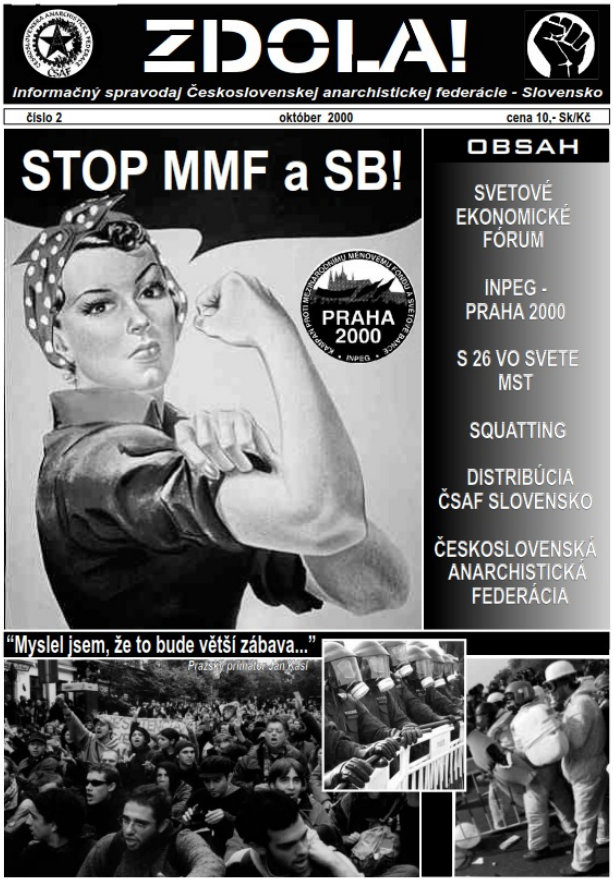
ZDOLA!
Informačný spravodaj Československej anarchistickej federácie - Slovensko
číslo 2 október 2000 cena 10,- Sk/Kč
STOP MMF a SB!
PRAHA 2000
OBSAH
SVETOVÉ EKONOMICKÉ FÓRUM
INPEG - PRAHA 2000
S 26 VO SVETE MST
SQUATTING
DISTRIBÚCIA ČSAF SLOVENSKO
ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ ANARCHISTICKÁ FEDERÁCIA
"Myslel jsem, že to bude větší zábava..."
Pražský příběh Jan Jesí

Figure 5. *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October.
(Source: author's archive)

Other such references were made to squats as centres of anti-globalisation activities. Squatting in Bratislava took the shape of two significant but rather short-lived examples, one in Lodná, another in Podtatranská Street.[79] Beyond the Slovak capital, important refe-

72 HORVÁTH, Martin. Bratislava 10. 6. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 1, August, p. 4.

73 JANA. Editorial. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 3, April, p. 2.

74 INPEG – Praha 2000. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October, pp. 5-6.

75 This was a crucial historical reference, and in many cases anti-globalization activists consciously followed the Situationist examples of the 1968 mobilization. See e.g.: DARK STAR (ed.) *Beneath the Paving Stones. Situationists and the Beach. May 1968*. Edinburgh; San Francisco : AK Press 2001.

76 -vg-. Tradícia boja – Paríž ´68. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 4, August, p. 6-7.

77 Iná možnosť. In *Zdola* (Špeciálne vydanie), 2002, Summer, p. 3.

78 TULÍK, Michal. Ekoanarchizmus očami Grahama Purchase. In *Zdola*, 2002, No. 5, January, p. 14.

79 Obsadený dom v Bratislave. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October, p. 12.

rences to places central to the anti-globalisation movement were made to the nearby city of Vienna, where Ernst Kirchweger-Haus (so-called "EKH")[80] as well as several other infoshops and bookstores, such as Anarchistische Buchhandlung in Hahngasse Street, were located.[81] Vienna, due to its geographic proximity and myriad of active social movements, was an important reference in the Slovak anarchist press. Another example was that of Rosa Antifa Wien, an activist strand focused on anti-sexism, which was a rather new discovery for Slovak activists.[82] From other neighbouring countries, squats in Prague, Krakow and Wroclaw were also mentioned.[83]

Conclusion

Geographical references in the Slovak anarchist press around the turn of the millennium provided potentially isolated activist communities with information about relevant struggles around the world. These references empowered these communities by calling on them to be a part of the global struggle. I would now like to analyse the gleaned references based on the functions they served in the two journals. I propose that a comparison of the geographical references be made with respect to the following narrative strategies employed by the journals:

1. Context
2. Equation
3. Inspiration

As noted above, providing local activists with context was one of the main functions of the geographical references published in the two journals. The differences between them stem from their different ideological profiles, with *Zdola* being comparatively less interested in the syndicalist tradition and ŽB focusing slightly less on other types of geographical references.

Table 1.

	Context	**Equation**	**Inspiration**
Action!	*Zdola*: often *ŽB*: sometimes	*Zdola*: sometimes *ŽB*: rarely	*Zdola*: sometimes *ŽB*: rarely
Strike	*Zdola*: rarely *ŽB*: often	*Zdola*: rarely *ŽB*: often	*Zdola*: rarely *ŽB*: often
Empire	*Zdola*: often *ŽB*: sometimes	*Zdola*: sometimes *ŽB*: sometimes	*Zdola*: sometimes *ŽB*: rarely
South	*Zdola*: often *ŽB*: sometimes	not applicable	*Zdola*: sometimes *ŽB*: sometimes
Roots	*Zdola*: often *ŽB*: sometimes	*Zdola*: sometimes *ŽB*: sometimes	*Zdola*: sometimes *ŽB*: sometimes

80 10 rokov EKH. In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 1, August, p. 7.
81 Krátke správy. In *Zdola*, 2001, No. 3, April, p. 3.
82 Rosa Antifa Wien. In *Zdola*, 2002, No. 5, January, p. 12.
83 Bývanie je právo! In *Zdola*, 2000, No. 2, October, p. 13.

Another narrative pattern was that of the equation, i.e. likening local cases to those reported on. With a comparatively low number of manifestations and strikes organised in Slovakia, both journals followed the ideological patterns identified above. Both journals drew parallels between some of the practices of the Empire and the Slovak context, in particular regarding Slovakia's path to NATO membership. One step beyond equation lies inspiration, drawn from practices attributed to the geographical references in order to transpose them to a local context. Once again, we can observe certain differences here between both journals based on their ideological differences.

Given the relatively small size of the Slovak population as well as the rather limited local tradition of anarchism and social struggles, geographical references likely played a crucial role in shaping the worldview of the country's anti-globalisation activists. The qualitative research presented in this article has allowed for a semantic categorisation of these references. Machine reading could further assist in providing new insights into the qualitative weight of the different references between the narratives. Additionally, the retrieved geographical references could be visualised so as to furnish future research with a valuable starting point.

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FORUM HISTORIAE

Echoes of Central and Eastern Europe Underground Scenes in French Fanzines Before and After the Fall of the Berlin Wall

Samuel Etienne

Abstract

ETIENNE, Samuel: Echoes of Central and Eastern Europe Underground Scenes in French Fanzines Before and After the Fall of the Berlin Wall.

This paper scrutinises how alternative cultural scenes from Central and Eastern European countries have been represented in fanzines published in France since 1977. The study focusses principally on the geographical and temporal rather than the qualitative or cultural aspects of the question. Four countries clearly stand out, representing 57 % of the analysed corpus: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary. These special interests may be explained by macrosocial factors (for example, the search for alternative information to counterbalance those diffused by French mainstream media) or microsocial factors (i.e. personal interest/linkage of a zinester (zine publisher) to a country of Central and Eastern Europe). Fanzine analyses underline the importance of individuals in the cross-border diffusion of alternative scenes' echoes, rather than established professional networks.

Keywords: fanzine, French media, underground scenes, alternative media, Central Europe, Eastern Europe

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Fanzines are amateur and do-it-yourself (DIY) publications related to alternative media.[1] The adjective "amateur" underlines the fundamental non-professional and non-commercial characteristics of these media,[2] wherein the DIY ethos is embodied in the cheap aspect of the printed products. Scrutinised under the objective prism of media efficiency, amateurism and DIY practices might be considered as fundamental handicaps for information circulation; but their main advantage resides in the immediacy of (fan)zine production, thereby providing visual and verbal rants freed from the pressures of censorship, editorial dictates, subbing and deadlines, allowing insight into cultural preoccupations and socio-political understandings.[3] Under political regimes with a high level of media control (i.e. where media are constrained to a blind and unquestionable allegiance to the ideology of the regime party and the ruling party), fanzines, like

1 ATTON, Chris. *Alternative Media*. London : SAGE Publications, 2002.

2 DUNCOMBE, Stephen. *Notes from Underground. Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*. London : Verso, 1997, p. 6.

3 WORLEY Matthew, et al. Introduction: Adventures in Reality: Why (Punk) Fanzines matter. In THE SUBCULTURES NETWORK (ed.) *Ripped, Torn and Cut. Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976.* Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2019.

"samizdat",[4] were supports of expression for alternative or opposition voices.[5] In a context where the European Union was built solely on the mental map of Western Europe, thus throwing out "the other Europe",[6] alternative media helped to fight against long-lasting prejudice and clichés built on erroneous mental maps.[7] Despite their low print runs, fanzines have established an international circuit of distribution using postal mail or "punk post", i.e. individuals transporting copies of the journal by train, car or bus, slowly building some exchange networks that can be mapped afterwards.[8] Thus, fanzines were also a means of communication across frontiers. The main object of this paper is to identify how alternative cultural scenes from Central and Eastern European countries have been presented in fanzines published in France over the last four decades. This study focusses principally on the geographical and temporal aspects of the question rather than the qualitative or cultural aspects (e.g. typology or sociology of scenes). I try to establish where the information came from at the country level, and how it arrived in France.

Methods

This study relies on the analysis of a corpus of fanzines published in France between the 1970s and 2018. I selected a corpus of fanzines echoing with consistency the alternative cultural scenes of Central and Eastern European countries. Consistency means that the written material is not limited to, for example, record or book reviews of music bands or authors from Eastern European countries, but includes scene reports, interviews and photo documentaries. In these latter cases, personal interactions of the zine writer with the country or its inhabitants were presumed. Book or record reviews were excluded, as they may only reflect the opinion of the writer acquired through reading or listening and did not require any direct contact with the distant scene.

A mapping problem arose with the shifting geography of Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall. In fanzines, especially those published in the 1990s, location after the Fall may refer to the geography of the socialist era (e.g. Czechoslovakia) or to the post-socialist one (the separation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia).

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4 For instance, *Revolver Revue / Jednou Nohou* was published clandestinely in Prague between 1985 and 1989 but became a literary media after the Velvet Revolution. The first legally printed issue of the magazine for literature and art *Revolver Revue* came out in December 1990. At the present time, *Revolver Revue* has about 300 pages and appears four times a year. Source: https://www.eurozine.com/journals/revolver-revue/

5 Following Jim McGuigan, Raymond Williams opposed alternative and oppositional practices: Alternative culture seeks a place to coexist within the existing hegemony, whereas oppositional culture aims to replace it. McGUIGAN, Jim. *Cultural Populism*. London : Routledge, 1992, p. 25.

6 RUPNIK, Jacques. *L'autre Europe, crise et fin du communisme*. Paris : Points Seuil, 1990.

7 TRUCHLEWSKI, Zbigniew. Généalogie Des Perceptions Est-Ouest. In *Emulations - Revue de sciences sociales*, 2009, No 6, pp. 143-169.

8 ETIENNE, Samuel. Le fanzine DIY comme élément de structuration des réseaux punk. In EDWARDS, Paul et al. (ed.) *Disorder. Histoire sociale des mouvements punk et post-punk.* Guichen : Mélanie Séteun, 2019, pp. 83–96.

I maintained the geography in use in fanzines to fill my database, but to create a map (fig. 3), I had to gather post-socialist data in the socialist states geography for Central Europe (Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia). Exceptions to this rule are the countries of the former USSR, where I have considered the post-communist borders to avoid dilution into a USSR category, where the weight of Russia could conceal the interest in the other Soviet provinces of Eastern Europe.

Corpus

Here, I explore the zine collection of La Fanzinothèque[9] library from Poitiers, France. La Fanzinothèque, established in 1989, is one of the oldest and biggest zine collections in Europe and currently has archived circa 56,000 volumes.[10] I have searched keywords related to Central and Eastern European country names (the keywords are in French, Table 1). In total, 618 volumes matched the selected keywords. In the next step, I checked all the paper versions in the library to evaluate their relevance for the study: That is, were they published in France? Does the content substantially deal with Central and Eastern Europe countries? This allowed me to screen out the area results: e.g., *Gabriel*, a French-speaking fanzine is excluded from the corpus because it was published in Belgium and Romania; *Stripburger*, published in Slovenia, is also excluded, while it counted 55 occurrences over 89 results for this country. Some cataloguing mistakes appeared in the database (e.g., fanzines *K9* and *Dark Warriors* are identified as Belarusian fanzines in the database, although they were published in Kiev, Ukraine). *Svoboda* (c. 1990) – the title seems to refer to the Slavic word "freedom", but in issue N°2, a newspaper *fac-simile* reveals a tragedy that occurred in an "asylum" (psychiatric hospital) in Brno (Czechoslovakia) concerning a patient called Svoboda, thus explaining the choice of the zine title. In this latter case, the title evokes Central-Eastern European countries but not the content of the zine, so I considered this fanzine as a false-positive. The corpus of zines suitable for analysis was thus reduced to 171 volumes. However, in addition to La Fanzinothèque archives, I also searched for information on the web forum punxforum.net (active since 2003) dedicated to punk DIY culture with a special interest in fanzines and punk writings (*"Punkpress, la bibliothèque est en feu!"*[11]*).* There I identified a further 29 relevant items. With the zines from my personal collection that were not present in the two mentioned databases (15 items) the studied corpus grew to 214 volumes of amateur journals published in France between 1977 and 2018.

9 www.fanzino.org
10 The collection database can be harvested online at https://fanzinotheque.centredoc.fr/
11 Translation: *Punkpress, the Library Is on Fire!*

Table 1. Fanzine corpus (1977 – 2018)

Keywords	Database				Total
	La Fanzinothèque		Punxforum	Personal	
	Items	Pertinent items	Supplementary items	Supplementary items	
Pologne	119	33	13	0	46
Hongrie	61	28	0	0	28
Yougoslavie	33	18	1	1	20
Tchéquie	39	14	5	0	19
Roumanie	50	12	0	3	12
Bulgarie	11	8	0	0	11
Ukraine	18	11	0	4	11
RDA	5	5	1	1	10
Tchécoslovaquie	11	7	1	4	9
Lituanie	8	3	1	0	8
Moldavie	4	4	3	0	7
Serbie	61	4	2	0	6
Slovénie	89	4	1	0	5
Croatie	51	4	1	0	5
Biélorussie	12	5	0	0	5
Bosnie	5	3	0	1	3
Albanie	3	2	0	0	3
Macédoine	10	2	0	0	2
Estonie	6	2	0	0	2
Lettonie	19	1	0	0	1
Slovaquie	3	1	0	0	1
Total	**618**	**171**	**29**	**14**	**214**

Note: keywords are labelled in French consistently with the database interrogation process.

Data treatment

Data were computed in spreadsheet software (Microsoft Excel) and analysed for their temporal and spatial dimensions. The dataset was subdivided into two parts considering the year 1989 as a dividing point between two historical periods: 1977 – 1989 as "before the fall of the Berlin Wall"; 1990 – 2018 as "after the fall of Berlin Wall".[12] Eight fanzines had no date and were excluded from the temporal analysis. Fanzines were classified in five categories following their main content: music zine, artzine (including poetry and photozine), comics, graphzine (graphic art zine) and political zine.

12 Although the establishment of the new political geography of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) spread between 1989 and 1995, I am using the Fall of the Berlin Wall as a symbolic change in mind, both in CEE and Western Europe. Because the paper presents a French point of view, the Fall of the Berlin Wall is a crucial moment on how French people – here French zinesters – looked at CEE in general.

Results

Temporal and geographical evolution of the zine coverage

Temporal coverage is variable during the period, with four years without a match (i.e. no fanzines were uncovered, which does not mean that no relevant fanzines were published during these years), and a maximum of 14 fanzines in 1994 (fig. 1). The mean is 5.1 fanzines per year with a slight difference between the Berlin Wall period (1977 – 1989: 55 fanzines = 4.23 fanzines/yr) and the post-Berlin Wall period (1990 – 2018: 153 fanzines = 5.26 fanzines/yr). The period 1985 – 1994 is the most prolific, with 92 fanzines exhumed (9.2 fanzines/yr), i.e. 43 % of the corpus.

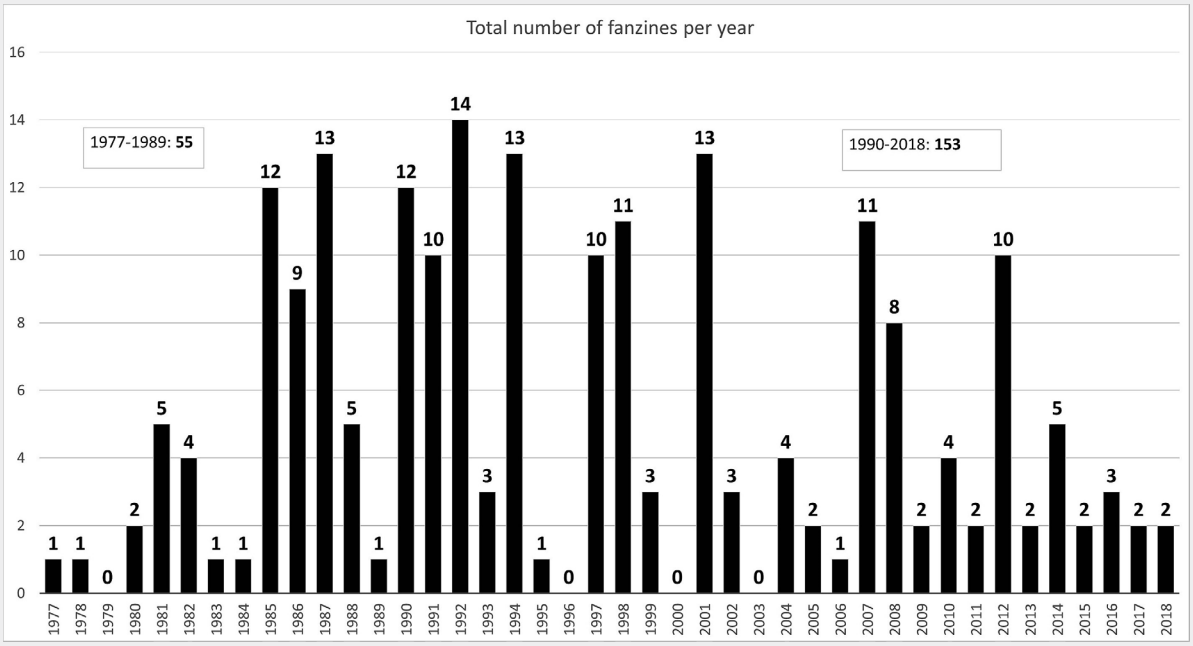

Figure 1. Temporal quantitative dispersion of French fanzines in the selected corpus.

Geographically, a group of four countries (socialist/communist period frontiers) gathered 57 % of the corpus: Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (fig. 2). Poland appears as the most covered country, with 44 volumes publishing information on this country (21 % of the corpus, fig. 3). This interest is especially strong in the period 1985 – 1993 (54.5 % of the sub-corpus). Hungary and Czechoslovakia (including the Czech Republic and Slovakia after the separation in 1993) follow with a similar coverage (13 %). Yugoslavia (including individual countries of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after the separation in 1992) completes the "Big-4" with 10 % of the corpus. The easternmost countries, especially those from the former USSR (Baltic countries, Belarus, Moldavia), were covered less, with 5 % of the corpus at most. Albania also appears as very poorly covered (three occurrences during the whole period, 1.4 %).

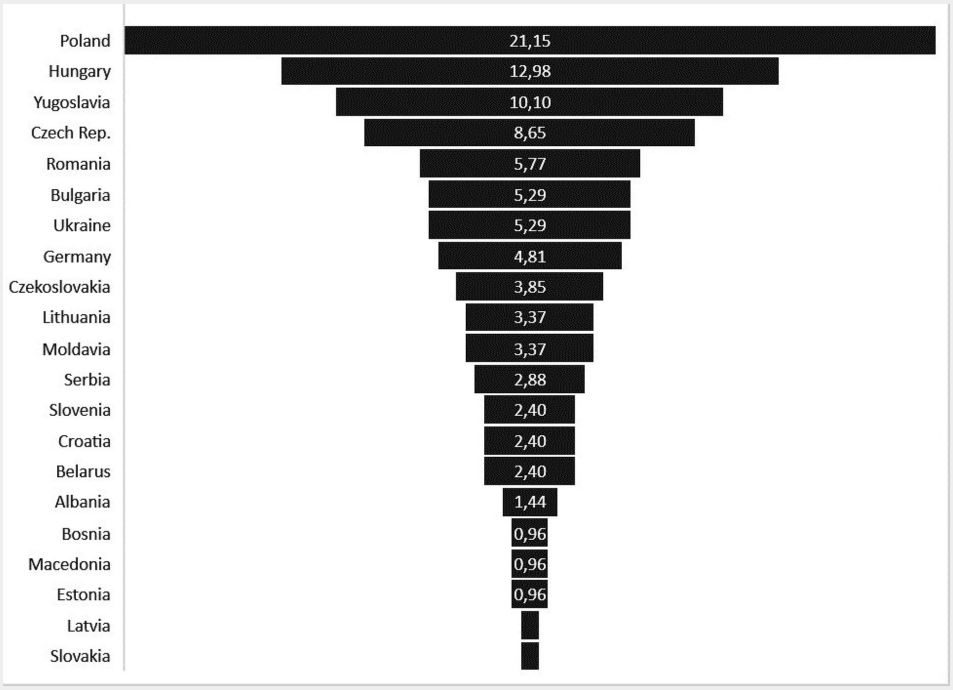

Figure 2.
Quantitative coverage of Central and Eastern Europe alternative scenes

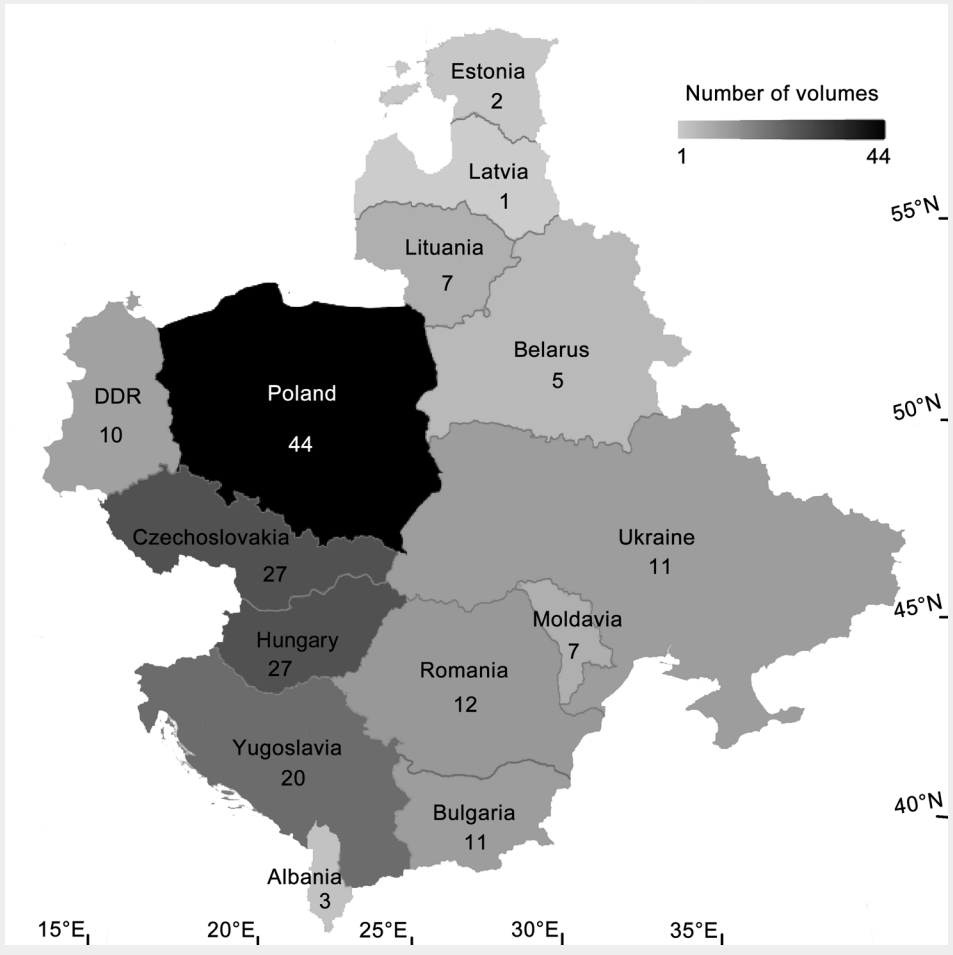

Figure 3.
Geographical coverage of Central and Eastern Europe alternative scenes in French fanzines (1977 – 2018)

Note: In this map, post-socialist data are gathered with Berlin Wall-period data for Central Europe, though former country boundaries are adopted for mapping simplification (e.g. Czechoslovakia [27 volumes] embeds Czechoslovakia [8 vol.], Czech Republic [18] and Slovakia [1]).

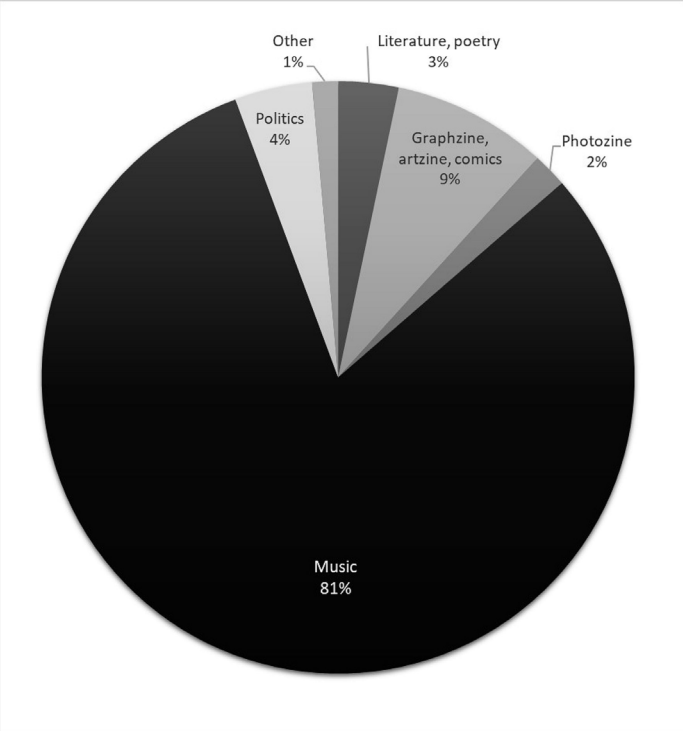

Figure 4. Typology of zines in the analysed corpus.

Zine Typology

Eighty percent of the corpus consists of music zines, essentially punk-hardcore genres; 8.5 % are graphzines, artzines and comics zines; and nearly 5 % are political zines (fig. 4).

Music zines

The Paris fanzine *New Wave* (1980 – 1989, fig. 5), one of the most important French fanzines in the 1980s,[13] published articles on the Central and Eastern Europe scenes on a regular basis, but despite 30 issues published over the decade, only four countries were covered (Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary). Patrice Herrsang, the cofounder of *New Wave*, remembers: *"First, we built an international network long before the existence of Facebook, with contacts in 128 countries. For Poland, as early as 1978, we were in contact with the punk club Furious*

Figure 5.
Fanzine *New Wave*, 1981, No. 8, (April), with a paper on rock music in Poland. (Source: author's archive)

13 RUDEBOY, Arno. *Nyark nyark. Fragments des scènes punk et rock alternatif en France. 1976 – 1989.* Paris : La Découverte, 2007, pp. 49-52.

Dogs. In Yugoslavia, with the label Skuc and their groups (we brought Borghesia in concert in France, for example). For Hungary, everything went through Lucille Chaufour (director of the documentary T-34 Le râle des genêts on the Hungarian punk-skin-rock scene). And Lük Haas, from Strasbourg, who published a book on East European rock, was one of our regular correspondents".[14]

The fanzine *Totalitarizm*, from the Auvergne region (central France) with articles on nine different countries covered the largest area geographically during its publishing period (1995 – 2002, 29 issues). The fanzine *Are you a man or are you a mouse?* was short-lived (1990 – 1994, nine issues) but brought to its readers information coming from eight different Central and Eastern Europe countries.

Graphzines, artzines, comics zines

Lola Fish was published at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s by Bruno Pommey (fig. 6). It was an artzine dedicated to mail-art but also including an international zine review and sometimes information on punk-rock scenes. Contributors from Central and Eastern European countries were present on a regular basis, for instance Robert Rupocinski[15] and Belin Czechowicz,[16] both from Poland. Also advertising articles calling on eastern artists for participation were published, for instance by Birger Jesh from the German Democratic Republic (GDR).[17] *Anthracite* was another mail-art zine from the 1980s that gave space to contributions from the GDR (Manfred Martin) and Yugoslavia (Nenad Bogdanovic).[18] Although mail-art is a kind of abstract non-textual contribution, it indicates that relationship and exchange were established between artists and zinesters from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Figure 6. Graphzine *Lola Fish*, 1992, No. 12. (Source: author's archive)

14 Patrice Herrsang, personal communication with the author, Facebook Messenger, 13 April 2020.
15 *Lola Fish*, 1990, No. 7, p. 13; *Lola Fish*, 1991, No. 10, p. 4.
16 *Lola Fish*, 1991, No. 9, p. 3.
17 *Lola Fish*, 1990, No. 7, p. 2.
18 *Anthracite*, 1987, No. 4, (May), p. 42

Political zines

Articles on alternative cultural scenes and actors were not the most important written matter in this category of zines, where social and political contents predominate. They appeared in the mid-1980s (*Sherwood*, 1985) and their presence has been stable over the years (*AIM* in the 1990s; *Bilan et Perspectives*, *Contre-Culture*, *Spasme* in the 2000s).

Information typology

To analyse and quantify the mere content of papers published in these zines would deserve a separate study. I propose here only a concise overview of the main categories of information to give a rough picture about what kind of information about the Central and Eastern European scenes came through to France. Interviews are privileged channels to get first-hand information. For example, when Central-Eastern European bands toured in France, they offered a direct opportunity for French zinesters to get information. I remember having the opportunity to interview Aldo Ivančić from Slovenian electro-rock band Borghesia during their Resistance tour (Nantes, 8 February 1992). Besides the usual questions about the last album and their musician's life, interest in the politic situation of the country (Slovenia had just declared its independence) arose at the end of the interview, which was later published in issue N°0 of the *Armageddon* fanzine.[19] At that time, I believed that gaining direct information from Central and Eastern people was necessarily more valuable than facts reported on French television, for example. Tour reports from French bands that played in Eastern European countries were also one of the ways of bringing back exclusive material from abroad and sharing it through fanzines. Local correspondents were an important source of information on alternative cultural scenes. They might produce scene reports like the reportage by Pavel Tušl from Stříbro (Czechoslovakia) published in *Guérilla Urbaine* (fig. 7).[20] Tušl explained that his motivation was to inform foreigners about the evolution of the Czech and Slovak punk and hardcore scenes since the fall of the communist regime in 1989. Similarly, Gvido Obradović, a member of the fanzine *24 Casa* (Belgrade, Yugoslavia), also bassist for the band Crist, contributed regularly to the French fanzine *Gabba Gabba Fuck!* (1983 – 1989). He wrote a paper on punk in Yugoslavia, several reports on punk concerts in Belgrade and another one on anti-nuclear activists.[21]

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19 ETIENNE, Samuel – DENESLE, Loïc. Borghesia. Entrevue. In *Armageddon*, 1992, No. 0, (Spring), pp. 21-22.

20 TUŠL, Pavel. Tchécoslovaquie: scene report. In *Guérilla Urbaine*, 1992, No. 6, p. 14.

21 OBRADOVIĆ Gvido. Yugoslav punk. In *Gabba Gabba Fuck!*, 1985, No.10, p. 17; OBRADOVIĆ Gvido. Dans la série "Pas question de ne plus en parler": la Yougoslavie. In *Gabba Gabba Fuck!*, 1986, No. 11, (January-February), p. 4; OBRADOVIĆ Gvido. Yougoslavie encore et toujours par Gvido. In *Gabba Gabba Fuck!*, 1986, No.15, (September); OBRADOVIĆ Gvido. East block: la Yougoslavie. In *Gabba Gabba Fuck!*, 1987, No. 17, (January-April).

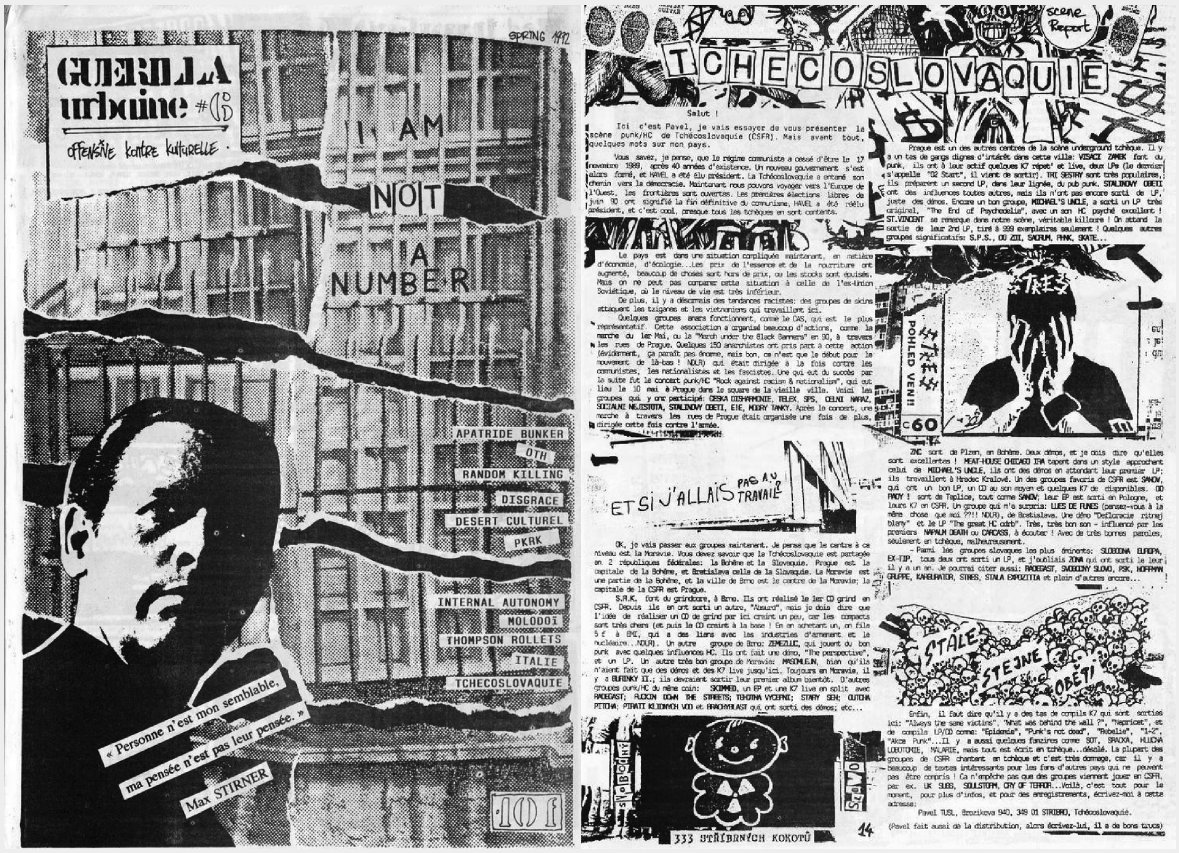

Figure 7. Right: Scene report from Czechoslovakia written by Pavel Tušl, a pen-pal from Stříbro, published in *Guérilla Urbaine*, 1992, No. 6, p. 14. Left: cover of the fanzine. (Source: author's archive)

Lyrics in vocal music are a way of expressing emotion, telling and retelling stories, developing fictional characters and commenting on events.[22] Translation is the interlingual transfer of content from one language to another, which might offer a particular information and understanding of a foreign culture. In issue N°2 of the fanzine *Manifestes* (1985), an article on punk in Hungary, based on testimonies by Lucile Chaufour, is documented with the translation of song lyrics from two Hungarian punk bands[23]: *Primitív bunkó* (*Rough hick*) from CPG and *Drogue communiste* from Qss.[24] In the early 1980s, Lucile Chaufour travelled to Hungary with a Super-8 camera and clandestinely documented the Budapest punk scene.[25] As previously mentioned, she contributed to the Parisian fanzine *New Wave*, being a precious source for first-hand information on Hungarian scenes. In 2013 she returned to Budapest and again met some actors of the 1980s punk movement. Her sequel documentary, *East Punk Memories*, was finalised in 2014 and released in theatres in 2016.[26] All this work, from lyrics translations to documentaries, was intended to offer an alternative view of the official history

22 LOW, Peter. *Translating Song: Lyrics and Texts*. London : Routledge, 2016.

23 *Manifestes*, 1985, No. 3, (June), p. 21. (https://fanzinotheque.centredoc.fr/doc_num.php?explnum_id=530)

24 The original title of the Qss song is not provided in the text. It is *Kommunista kábító* (*Communist drug*) (information provided to the author by the band via its Facebook page QSS.zenekar, 18 May 2020).

25 CHAUFOUR, Lucile. *T34. Le râle des genêts*, Super-8 movie, 1985.

26 http://eastpunkmemories.blogspot.com/

built by the Communist regime. It also contributed to drawing a more nuanced picture of everyday life under communism.[27]

Social papers are a means of presenting the originality of lifestyle in different countries. They are quite common in fanzines whose editors have travelled abroad, but they also fit well with the centres of interest of the concerned subculture. For example, in the skinzine[28] *Symphonie Urbaine* N°6 (1990), an article titled *Beer in Czechoslovakia* was published, whereas in the anarcho-punk fanzine *Outrage* N°2 (2009) a report on the Milada squat in Prague confessed the living experience of the French zinester in this alternative place (fig. 8). In *Calade Shnikov* N°4 (June 1990), a paper on the illegal press in Hungary highlighted the difficulty of publishing freely in the 1980s even for the small press like fanzines. In this issue of *Calade Shnikov*, zine and band contacts are grouped on a full page with the following recommendation *"N'écrivez jamais le nom du groupe ou le nom du zine sur l'enveloppe !!!"*,[29] a statement which frequently appeared in other French fanzines. This recommendation maintained the idea for French readers that the regime in Central and Eastern European countries was very oppressing.

Figure 8. Cover of *Outrage*, 2009. No. 2 referring to the Milada Squat in Prague. (Source: author's archive)

Discussion

Zines help to draw a portrait of alternative cultural scenes, but is it an accurate one? The above outline is probably partly biased by the corpus itself: La Fanzinothèque library gathers all kinds of zines, but its original background is rooted in music zines with graphic and comics zines becoming more important in the last twenty years. This might explain the relative overrepresentation of music zines in the corpus. However, among the music zines, punk and hardcore zines are the most common, and it is well known that these subcultures relied preferential-

27 BLESSING, Benita. Legacies of Punk Rock in Socialist Hungary. In *Contemporary European History*, 2017, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 413-416.

28 A skinzine is a type of music zine dedicated to skinhead music and subculture.

29 *"Do not write the band name or the zine name on the envelope!!!"* In *Calade Shnikov*, 1990, No. 4, p. 6.

ly upon zines to disseminate their information and build their networks.[30] Before the fall of the Berlin Wall, the general interest of French zinesters for Central and Eastern European countries was justified in the writings by the feeling that it was more difficult to be an actor in alternative scenes there than in Western countries. For example, in *Alienation* N°11 (1985), the author introduced a paper on punk in the GDR: *"Some will think that I have special sympathies for communist countries. This is not the case, but I truly feel deep respect for these people because their struggle is much more difficult than the one in the West."*[31]

The interest of the French press in Poland was particularly high during the 1980s, when France, under the François Mitterrand presidency, offered long-lasting humanitarian and financial help to both the Jaruzelski regime and the Solidarność syndicate.[32] The French press also contributed significantly to support Solidarność morally and materially during the decade. However, by often conveying the wrong stereotypes because of incompetence or ideology, French newspapers also offered a distorted image of the situation in Poland.[33] Karolina Pietras described the "informative interference" of French political parties with the media treatment of information at the time, i.e. how French politics used masked propaganda to build a false image of Poland.[34] The interest of French fanzines is interpreted as an attempt to offer alternative pictures of Poland. Hence the high interest of French fanzines in the Polish scenes is a direct reaction to the biased image built by mainstream media.

The interest in Hungary appears more enigmatic if we try to fit it in with general news coverage. Here we must shift from a macroanalysis to a microanalysis, i.e. underline the importance of individual interest or familial roots to explain the importance of information coming from Hungary. In December 1986, Eddy Basset (b. 1964) from Villefranche-sur-Saône, host of the radio program "Apunkalypse Now" (1983 – 1985), started to publish a fanzine called *Il fait froid chez nous* (*It's cold at home*). The subtitle was *"samizdat du groupe post-punk hongrois Trottel!"* (*"samizdat of the Hungarian post-punk band Trottel!"*) because it was a translation of the zine originally published by this Hungarian punk band. A few months later, in April 1987, Basset started his own punk fanzine *Calade Shnikov.* Eventually, the two zines were merged and published head to tail with the subtitles *Vent d'Ouest/ Vent d'Est* ("Westerlies/Easterlies") until 1990. Basset went to Berlin three times between 1982 and 1984. Then up to 1985 he headed to Eastern Europe

30 ROBINSON, Lucy. *Zines and History: Zines as History*. In THE SUBCULTURES NETWORK (ed.), *Ripped, Torn and Cut. Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976.* Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2019, pp. 39-54.

31 *"Certains vont penser que j'ai des sympathies particulières pour les pays communistes. Il ne s'agit pas de cela, mais j'éprouve véritablement un profond respect pour ces personnes car leur lutte est bien plus difficile que celle menée à l'Ouest."* NAUDIN, Nathalie. Punx en RDA. In *Alienation*, 1985, No. 11, (October-November), p. 25.

32 MITRACHE, Marius-Mircea. La solidarité tranquille. Comment la France a aidé le peuple polonais pendant les années Solidarność. In *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai*, 2013, Vol. 58, pp. 125-140.

33 PENOT, Pierre-Etienne. *La Pologne, de la naissance de Solidarité à la mort du POUP (août 1980-janvier 1990), à travers la presse française*. Doctoral Thesis, Université de Nantes, 2011.

34 PIETRAS, Karolina. *L'image de "Solidarność" dans la presse française et ouest-allemande (1980 – 1982)*. Doctoral Thesis, Université Paris 4-Sorbonne, 2011.

"from Finland to Hungary"[35] *during several trips, where he established direct contacts with local cultural actors. The year Vent d'Ouest/ Vent d'Est* stopped its publication, a new zine, *Are you a man or are you a mouse?*, appeared under the hand of Bruno Szöllősi aka James le Hongrois, born in Hungary but living in the suburbs of Paris (fig. 9). *AYAMOAYAM* lasted nine issues, until 1994, when it became a newsletter for a couple of issues. In 1995 *Totalitarizm* appeared, with a title from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule, a small town in central France, published by Fabrice Migeon, who had already edited one issue of Primitiv Bunko [sic] in 1993 (fig. 10). The title refers to a song by Siberian anarcho-punk band Гражданская Оборона (Grazhdanskaya Oborona). At least 29 issues of *Totalitarizm* were published until 2003. The author confessed in an extensive interview published in *Deviance* N°8 (2002) that he had always been interested by Eastern European countries because during his childhood in the 1970s the existence of the Iron Curtain, splitting Europe into two parts, prevented him from getting information.[36] In that same period, he often stayed at his grandmother's house and there loved talking with her neighbours, who were Polish. He also confessed that he had stayed in the southern parts of Poland and the GDR twice, allowing him to get privileged contact with local punk scenes, thus substantially extending his network. Finally, over a 16-year period, three successive fanzines covered the Hungarian alternative/punk scenes.

Figure 9.
Fanzine *Are you a man or are you a mouse?*, 1991, (January), No. 4. (Source: author's archive)

35 *"Après l'Allemagne de l'Ouest et Berlin (trois ans consécutifs), Londres, ce fut l'Europe de la Finlande à la Hongrie, toujours dans le but de ne pas se cantonner au trop peu qui franchissait nos frontiers."* (*"After West Germany and Berlin [three consecutive years], London, it was Europe from Finland to Hungary, always with the aim of not being confined to the little that crossed our borders."*) BASSET, Eddy. Editorial. In *Calade Shnikov*, 1987, No. 1, (April), p. 1.

36 *"Depuis toujours, je suis intéressé par ces pays (et par d'autres). Quand j'étais petit (dans les années 70), l'Europe était coupée en 2, on entendait quasiment jamais parler de ces pays de l'autre côté du rideau de fer, de plus, les voisins de mon arrière grand-mère (chez qui je vivais souvent quand j'étais gosse) étaient polonais et j'allais souvent les voir, alors peut-être qu'inconsciemment cela m'a influencé."* (*"I have always been interested in these countries [and others]. When I was young [in the 70s], Europe was cut in half, we almost never heard of these countries on the other side of the Iron Curtain; moreover, the neighbours of my great grandmother [where I often lived when I was a kid] were Polish and I went to see them often, so maybe that unconsciously it influenced me."*) SERRIER, Stéphane. Totalitarizm Zine interview. In *Déviance*, 2002, No. 8, p. 19.

Figure 10.
Fanzine *Totalitarizm*, 1995, No. 4. (Source: author's archive)

On a more micro scale, a person like Lük Haas was very active in disseminating information on Eastern European countries through his own fanzines (*Lük Haas's Hairrising Travel & Tour Unltd*, *Mala Ewolucja*) or by contributing to several zines in France and abroad (*New Wave*, *Sub-Rock*, *Aga*, *Maximum Rocknroll*, *Flex Digest*, *Zap*, *Trust*, etc.). Based in Strasbourg, Haas used to travel by car in Eastern Europe and report on his travels and contacts with local artists through a perzine writing style. He had a strong personal interest for discovering new places and new people; however, he had no familial connections with Eastern Europe.[37] His networks steadily cover Poland, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, the Baltic States and Bulgaria, and later Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia. These networks were established with punk or underground activists, e.g. Jazzová sekce (Jazz Section) or musicians like Mikoláš Chadima in the former Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. He was also in touch with Janus activists in Paris who had underground contacts in the Soviet Union. In the mid-1980s Haas ran the cassette label Ukrutnost Tapes and released several recordings from Czechoslovak bands. In 1993 he founded the label Tian An Men 89 Records, releasing more punk music from Central and Eastern Europe and beyond, a label that is still active today. Sometimes Lük Haas published the same papers or interviews in different zines: for example, a paper on punk in Czechoslovakia published in *Gabba Gabba Fuck!* N°15 and *Invocation Macabre* N°2 in 1986; or an interview with Imad, the guitarist of the band L'Attentat (GDR), published simultaneously in *Calade Shnikov* N°1 and *Invocation Macabre* N°3 in 1987. This strategy of disseminating information through identical texts published in several fanzines was particular to zine production, allowing information to diffuse over larger territories than the one covered by a single zine. Replication was possible because the exclusivity of the published material was not mandatory and copyleft was widely accepted.

37 Lük Haas, personal communication with the author, e-mail, 13. November 2019.

Conclusion

This study focusses on the French reception and knowledge of Central and Eastern European underground cultural scenes and actors. Fanzines appear useful for drawing a diachronic panorama of their international influence. Variations in time and space are strong, and they translate more the importance of zinester's network (microsocial scale) than the political context (macrosocial scale), with the exception of Poland during the 1980s. Here, mass media information disseminated in France might have favoured a counterpoint view in French fanzines. A strong interest in Central and Eastern European countries seemed to emerge between 1985 – 1993 (more than 50 % of the corpus), a period also characterised by the growth of free speech linked with the "glasnost" policy. However, the popularisation of Eastern European punk and hardcore scenes in France during the 1990s relied strongly on the role of two French zinesters (Lük Haas, Bruno Szöllősi) with Eastern Europe roots or personal interests. Both built their own information network between France and Central and Eastern Europe. The permeability of the frontiers for information on underground scenes between France and the Central and Eastern European countries was better achieved at the microscopic level of fanzines than in what mainstream journals offered their readers, though fanzine analyses underline the importance of individuals in the cross-border diffusion of alternative scenes' echoes rather than established professional networks.

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FORUM HISTORIAE

"The Wild Underground Extreme of Human Rights and Ecological Activities": Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovenian Hardcore Punk Fanzine Cultures from the 1980s to the Present*

Jiří Almer

Abstract

ALMER, Jiří: "The wild underground extreme of human rights and ecological activities": Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovenian hardcore punk fanzine cultures from the 1980s to the Present.

This article compares Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovenian hardcore punk fanzine scenes from the 1980s up to the present, emphasising in particular their connections to the various anti-authoritarian movements with which they share the common idea of do-it-yourself (DIY). The comparison is embodied in the histories of above-mentioned scenes and in the context of their legacies. Fanzines are the author's main sources mainly because cultural and political activities were connected on their pages. While Czech hardcore-punk fanzine culture has persisted until today, Slovenian fanzines in fact have disappeared hand-in-hand with advancing gentrification, despite the punk scenes being remarkably strong there during the period of socialism.

Keywords: hardcore-punk, punk, fanzine, subculture, scene, activism, DIY, Czechia, Slovakia, Slovenia

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Being a part of a subculture is often an important form of identification for youth and can help foster greater involvement in social and political activism. Especially in the case of punk and the hardcore punk and anarcho-punk subgenres/scenes in particular,[1] we can trace the continual articulation of lifestyles and political persuasions, such as vegetarianism/veganism or even the more radical straight edge as well as their remarkable similarly oriented political activity, as contemporary autonomist or anti-authoritarian movements.[2] More specifically,

* This quote comes from Czech punk chronicler Filip Fuchs (see below). FUCHS, Filip as Phill Hell. In *Trhavina*, 2013, No. 4. This article was created as a part of research supported by Czech Science Foundation project no. 17-09539S Budováni scény: česká a slovenská kultura fanzinů od státního socialismu k post-socialismu / Building up the Scene: Czech and Slovak Fanzine Culture from the State Socialism to Post-Socialism. Research presented here develops author´s argument in a chapter from the book DANIEL, Ondřej a kol. Kultura svépomocí: ekonomické a politické rozměry v českém subkulturním prostředí pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu. Praha : FFUK, 2016 and a conference paper presented at konference České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století XII in 2018.

1 Since bands that openly propagate the ideas of anarchism are usually labelled as anarcho-punk, in this context hardcore is interpreted as a scene propagating wider social engagement and alternative lifestyles. Alastair Gordon interprets anarcho-punk as a particularly British movement that developed around the band Crass in the 1980s, whereas he connects hardcore to the United States. In this text I use the term hardcore punk because in the studied countries the hardcore and anarcho-punk scenes have nearly merged into one. GORDON, Alistair. They Can Stuff Their Punk Credentials Cause It's Them That Take the Cash. In DINES, Mike – WORLEY, Matthew (eds.) *The Aesthetic of Our Anger; Anarcho-Punk, Politics and Music*. Colchester : Minor Compositions, 2016, p. 246-249.

2 I use the term "anti-authoritarianism" as a catchall for more radical environmental, cultural, and social movements. The term also had roots in the anarchist position against Trotskyism and Maoism.

we can speak about anti-fascist, anti-racist, anti-sexist, environmental and animal rights movement issues as well as anti-militarist and anti-globalisation activities often related to autonomous centres/squats. These trends are often interpreted as a challenge to neoliberal capitalism-based grassroots activism. Here, we can contextualise the key idea of hardcore punk – the do it yourself (DIY) ethics – that is, independence from official (commercial) sources and resistance to the commodification of cultural products.[3] One crucial DIY activity is fanzine publishing, which is an independent medium that informs the scene about social activities. Fanzine culture also poses a challenge to the ethos of "professional" magazine publishing, which is based on commerce or even pro-regime discourse. According to Kirsty Five, to be a fanzine publisher means being an outsider on the one hand and a force for social change on the other.[4]

George McKay, an influential expert on Western anti-authoritarian activism, understands DIY practices and the ideas associated with them as constituting intuitive liberal anarchism.[5] The process of establishing the above-mentioned anti-authoritarian groups in the former Eastern Bloc from late state socialism to the early post-socialist transformation is closely connected with punk and new wave subcultures, that is, the subcultures that essentially articulated DIY practice. According to one observer, the Slovenian scene, and in particular its fanzines, which were extraordinarily open and visually provocative (e.g., they contained pornographic elements), had a remarkable influence on society as a whole at a time when the adoption of capitalism was being discussed.[6] Moreover, we must keep in mind that these developments were occurring as the threat of state repression still loomed large.[7]

Despite this obvious common repressive feature, Slovenia was probably the most liberal of the socialist countries in Europe. In contrast, Czechoslovakia was ruled by a strongly conservative socialist regime. Regardless, its direct proximity to the West may have played an important role in the cultural transfer, especially during late state socialism and the first few years of transformation. Both Slovenia and the Czech Republic (as well as Slovakia) were born out of the post-socialist breakup of larger multinational states; as a result, the subcultural scenes in these countries were able to integrate into the global community more quickly.

Did Central European subculture fanzines in the above-mentioned countries have an influence on society as a whole? How did these relations change during the diversifying social transformations and what were the visible differences between

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3 TRIGGS, Teal. Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic. In *Journal of Design History*, 2006, Vol. 19, No. 1, p. 70.

4 FIFE, Kirsty. *The Personal is Historical: The Ethics of Archiving Zine Subcultures*. MA dissertation. University College London, Department of Information Studies, 2013, p. 20-21; Interview with Iny. In *Hlasatel*, 2011, No. 1, p. 51.

5 McKAY, George. DiY Culture: Notes Towards an Intro. In McKAY, George (ed.) *DiY Culture: Party & Protest in Nineties Britain*. London : Verso 1998, p. 3.

6 Interview with Domen Repnik. Ljubljana, November 2016.

7 DANIEL, Ondřej. *Násilím proti "novému biedermeieru": Subkultury a většinová společnost pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu*. Praha : Pistorius & Olšanská 2017, pp. 35, 86-87, 91-94.

the above-mentioned countries? For my research, I mostly drew from subculture fanzines[8] as sources, but also used oral history data, official documents, multimedia sources (videos) and the webpages of various cultural institutions. I do not, however, view fanzines as just sources; they also comprise a medium that expresses more complex social values. My methodology is heavily influenced by the work of Matt Grimes, who suggests primarily analysing the discursive elements of fanzines. In his opinion, the visual form of these publications and the very punk lifestyle are secondary considerations.[9] Concerning the comparative goal of this study, this will be included and disputed in the two chapters dealing with the Slovenian scenes.

Subcultural Theory and the Politicisation of Subcultures

The punk subculture, its "rebellion without a cause" and its fashion comprised a major area of focus for the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). This research institute was known for unorthodox readings of Marxism and scholarship connecting subcultures with symbolical resistance against the mainstream's cultural hegemony.[10] Today, however, the preferred approach is that of post-subcultural theory; the focus now tends to be on young people having fun (raves, sound systems), who are connected by the shared emotion of a collective event, which is often regarded as a new form of cultural identification.[11] To better explain "subcultural" activities, scholars work with the term "subcultural scene", which is defined as a complex of (sub)cultural activities, events or products based on articulating a particular genre, which is usually, but not always, a musical one.[12] A scene can be viewed as a sphere where politics and cultural activities intertwine. Scenes are usually based locally in a physical space and are organised hierarchically (following an alternative model).[13]

Therefore, we must avoid limiting subcultural research to fashion or employment work, and, on the contrary, we should emphasise activities, such as promoting concerts or releasing records. Sarah Thornton's key term "subcultural capital" is helpful for interpreting such activities. Not only can it be applied to the products of these activities, but it also represents a priceless value for the subcultural

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8 In its original context, the term fanzine (a "fan magazine") refers to a publication produced by fans on a non-commercial basis. The truncated zine is usually used for the contemporary artzines; cutting out the fan evokes the idea that their publishers are no longer fans but artists. For more see, SPENCER, Amy. *DIY: The Rise of Lo-fi Culture*. New York : Marion Boyars Publishers, 2008, pp. 16-17. Compare with BEŠKOVNIK, Barbara. Od fanzina do zina: o (fan)zinski kulturi na Slovenskem. Master's thesis. University of Ljubljana, 2016, pp. 8-9.

9 GRIMES, Matt. From Protest to Resistance. In DINES, Mike – WORLEY, Matthew (eds.) *The Aesthetic of Our Anger; Anarcho-Punk, Politics and Music*. Colchester : Minor Compositions, 2016, pp. 161-162.

10 HEBDIGE, Dick. *Subkultura a Styl*. Praha : Volvox Globator, 2012, pp. 25-26; compare with MUGGLETON, David. *Inside Subculture: The Postmodern Meaning of Style.* Oxford : Berg Publishers, 2000, pp. 11-14.

11 MUGGLETON 2000, pp. 42-43.

12 STRAW, Will. Communities and Scenes in Popular Music. In GELDER, Ken (ed.) *The Subcultures Reader*. London : Routledge, 2005, pp. 469; compare with CÍSAŘ, Ondřej – KOUBEK, Martin. Include 'em All?: Culture, Politics and a Local Hardcore/punk Scene in the Czech Republic. In *Poetics: Journal of Empirical Research on Literature, the Media and the Arts*, 2012, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 4-8.

13 HAUNSS, Sebastian – LEACH, Darcy K. Scenes and Social Movements. In *The Changing Structure of Civil Society*, Workshop Number 8, European Consortium for Political Research, Joint Sessions of Workshops. Uppsala, 2004, pp. 3-5.

activist. This term can help define a scene's hierarchy, that is, the relationship between the creator of artwork, who possesses greater subcultural capital, and the recipient or listener.[14] Similarly, in this context the concept of "authenticity" is understood as a dividing point from the mainstream.[15] Subcultural capital in this sense can also form an "alternative hierarchy" of a certain society; moreover, know-how for the production itself could be regarded as highly valuable subcultural capital. In this context, the punk notion of DIY is transformed into the idea that "anyone can do it"; that is, anyone can be a punk musician, a fanzine publisher or a record label operator,[16] but according to the same logic, when there is a consented appeal that members of the scene should be active, then passivity is regarded as lazy consumerism and is thus denounced.

The contemporary hipster post-subculture rests partly on this subcultural capital logic. Hipsters oscillate between various independent scenes; as "artistic bohemians" they universally consume any type of independent ("indie")[17] products. This phenomenon is based on a bricolage of many older subcultural styles. Within the fanzine scene, hipsters are a significant driving force behind the popularity of artzines, which are on the one hand the legacy of old countercultural publications and on the other a medium that expresses the "elitism" of hipness and "more refined taste." Contemporary zine fairs, where zine-makers meet, heavily revolve around artzine scenes and therefore rarely attract more straightforward, anti-elitist hardcore punks. Hipster-like behaviour within subcultures can have a counterpart in post-autonomous activists, who are pointedly described by social anthropologist Bob Kuřík: *"Whereas the typical autonomist is a militant brat from a squat who listens to hardcore and punk, the typical post-autonomist is at first sight indistinguishable from a young student. He wears colourful clothes and listens to electronica. Whereas the autonomist tries to refuse all the old in himself and all around him, the post-autonomist tries to influence his background in new, social-ecological middle class."*[18]

One way or another, how can certain political activities be supported by a cultural activity, specifically by fanzine publishing? Fanzines are often directly involved in organising political demonstrations and benefits concerts, and they report about such events on their pages afterwards. Zinesters can also support particular protests by reprinting the political argumentation, by publishing interviews with activists or by publishing images supporting or denouncing specific campaigns. Many fanzines contain columns that are broadly focused on politics. Interviews

14 THORTON, Sarah. The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital. In GELDER Ken – THORNTON, Sarah (eds.) *The Subcultures Reader*. London : Routledge, 1997, p. 191.

15 HUQ, Rupa. Resistance or Incorporation? Youth Policy Making and Hip Hop Culture. In HODKINSON, Paul – DEICKE, Wolfgang (eds.) *Youth Cultures: Scenes, Subcultures and Tribes*. London : Routledge, 2007, p. 80.

16 DALE, Pete. *Anyone Can Do It: Empowerment, Tradition and the Punk Underground*. London : Routledge, 2012, p. 34.

17 ARSEL, Zeynep – THOMPSON, Craig J. Demythologizing Consumption Practices: How Consumers Protect Their Field-Dependent Identity Investments from Devaluing Marketplace Myths. In *Journal of Consumer Research*, 2011, Vol. 37, No. 5, p. 792.

18 RYCHETSKÝ, Lukáš. Přepínání tváří: Rozhovor s antropologem Bobem Kuříkem o nových strategiích protestních hnutí. In *Alarm*, 11. July 2015, https://a2larm.cz/2015/07/prepinani-tvari/

often concentrate on political opinions or participation in demonstrations. Scene reports are one of the most important components of fanzines. They appear as reports or travelogues describing the authors' meeting with punkers and scenes in other countries (such reports also increase the subcultural capital of the publisher), which are often linked to anarchist centres or squats. In a similar way political movements or activist cells publish band interviews or reviews of albums released by kindred bands in their publications. Although many fanzines present themselves as primarily music-focused, they generally contain political content as well, at the very least in terms of iconography, for example, by printing anti-racist graphic motifs.

The Czech and Slovak Punk Scenes during Late State Socialism

The birth of Czech and Slovak hardcore punk and its cultural catchment area can only barely be linked to a remarkable creative movement or any local musical innovation, as many punk scene veterans suggest.[19] Although many punk bands were active in the socialist 1980s (e.g. Plexis, Visací Zámek, Znouzectnost, Do řady!, S.P.S., N.V.Ú. and Zóna A, as well as hardcore bands like Radegast, Šanov 1, Telex, Suicidal Commando, Skimmed, Kritická Situace, Zelení Kanibalové, Zeměžluč, Vzor 60 and S.R.K., and more experimental bands like Insania, Michael's Uncle, Masomlejn, Modrý Tanky and Už Jsme Doma), the scene did not have a major influence on society as a whole nor did it produce any noteworthy music.

As Czech social geographer Michaela Pixová argues, this subculture had to armour itself against permanent obstructions and repression, and spaces where live performances were allowed were more than limited.[20] Recording and distributing LPs and fanzines were very risky activities, and only a few individuals were willing to run any kind of independent distribution.[21] Very few fanzines were released at the time,[22] and many of those that were circulated were based on translations from Western publications (such as *Attack* zine).[23] The finest ones from this era were certainly *Oslí uši* and *Sračka*. They took a broadminded approach, informing readers about, among other things, the growing racist skinhead element in Czechoslovakia.[24] Throughout the DIY approach was remarkably underlined by the publisher of *Oslí uši*, who kept money-free distribution in order to *"not to allow anyone to buy them, so as not to own them"*.[25]

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19 Interview with Šoty/Zeměžluč. In *For the Punx*, 2006, No. 2, p. 30.

20 PIXOVÁ, Michaela. Český Punk za oponou i před oponou. In KOLÁŘOVÁ, Marta (ed.) *Revolta stylem: hudební subkultury mládeže v České republice*. Praha : SLON, 2011, pp. 58-61; compare with KUŘÍK, Bob. Život je politickej čin. In *Nový Prostor*, 2010, No. 349, http://www.novyprostor.cz/clanky/349/zivot-je-politickej-cin.

21 FUCHS, Filip. *Kytary a řev aneb co bylo za zdí: Punk rock a hardcore v Československu před rokem1989*. Brno : Self-published, 2002, pp. 260-263.

22 Oslí uši story pt. I. In *Muzika Komunika*, No.2, https://muzika-komunika.blogspot.com/2014/01/osli-usi-story-pt-i.html; Interview with Štěpán Stejskal. In *Porodem vpřed*, 1993, No. 1, p. 1.

23 Kristova léta českého punku. 33 let průšvihů i výher tuzemského punk rocku. 33 let od prvního punkového koncertu v Praze. Praha : Popmuzeum, 2012, p. 28.

24 Oi! akce. In *Sračka,* 1989, No. 3/4, unpaginated.

25 Oslí uši story pt. I.

As historian Ondřej Daniel remarks, often drawing heavily from key Czech punk chronicler and fanzine publisher Filip Fuchs, some Czech and Slovak punks in the 1980s spread racist ideas, for example, 77-style[26] the punk band Zóna A.[27] Important for this study is that racist expressions were also used by bands regarded as hardcore, which goes into the deepest contradiction to the nature of hardcore. For example, the members of Šanov 1 spoke about being openly racist in an interview with the zine *Sračka*.[28] It should be noted, however, that they renounced such views in the 1990s.

Most bands at that time, however, tended to be apolitical.[29] One person interviewed by Miroslav Vaněk for his oral history project about rock musicians in socialist Czechoslovakia described his musical activities as being purely musically focused: *"I didn't care about politics; I was interested in hard rock."*[30] Czechoslovakia got its first taste of punk thanks to the members of the alternative/new wave band called Extempore.[31] One member, Mikolá Chadima, who would later chronicle the Czech alternative scene (despite never being a punk), started his own DIY tape label called Fist Records. Although the regime took an equally repressive approach to the alternative/new wave scene,[32] its members did not share the punks' "outsider" stance. Many were university students from the bigger cities, and they were often officially registered as musicians. Moreover, they had remarkable patronage by the officially permitted Jazz Section of the Czech Musicians' Union, which produced many influential music magazines, some of which were official or semi-official and some of which were purely *samizdat* (secretly self-published).[33] The Jazz Section was later banned and its leaders put on trial in the last years of the socialist period. Many Czech alternative bands that undoubtedly influenced the punk movement (Garage, Zikkurat, Extempore, OZW, Máma Bubo, Dybbuk) were at least in part engaged in DIY practices. The all-female alternative/new wave band Dybbuk (or its modification Zuby Nehty) was very influential for the first feminist subcultural activists. The members of this band also faced deeply rooted sexism that came from fans as well as other male punk musicians.[34]

Many of above these bands accumulated remarkable subcultural capital, partly because of their half-official status. It was not rare for this "socialist" subcultural capital to be an advantage in commercial music business activities after the fall of state socialism. For example, some became members of the unions protecting the rights of copyright holders, the OSA in the Czech Republic and the SOZA

26 This term usually refers to a band that is heavily influenced by the first wave of punk in the 1970s.

27 DANIEL, Ondřej. Kánon a alibi: anticiganismus postsocialistických subkultur. In *Slovo a smysl,* 2013, Vol. 10, No. 20, pp. 265-266.

28 FUCHS 2002, p. 122.

29 VANĚK, Miroslav. *Byl to jenom Rock'n'Roll? Hudební alternativa v komunistickém Československu 1956 – 1989.* Praha : Academia, 2010, pp. 295, 550-552; PIXOVÁ 2011, pp. 58-61.

30 VANĚK 2010, p. 292.

31 FUCHS 2002, p. 18.

32 Aféra Jazzové sekce pokračuje. In *Západ. Časopis pro Čechy a Slováky*, 1983, (October). https://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/casopis_zapad/1983_5.pdf

33 Náš Příběh. In *Jazzová Sekce*, 2016, https://jazzova-sekce.cz/nas-pribeh/

34 ŘÍMANOVÁ, Jana. Role žen v historii českého punku. Master's Thesis. Charles University in Prague, 2015, pp. 42-44.

in Slovakia. Not surprisingly, hardcore punks despise these unions because they are seen as a pressure group of the music industry and a source of potential costs against DIY scenes.[35]

Czechoslovak and Czech Punk at the Heart of Transformation and Globalization

The above-mentioned explicit contradictions to hardcore ideas (racism, commercialism) meant that the "true" hardcore punk scene as defined above and connected with political grassroots activism could not have started before the Velvet Revolution. Contemporary witnesses, in fact, claim that the scene had to begin practically from scratch, searching for inspiration mainly from Germany.[36] Some older punk bands from the socialist period (e.g., Plexis) were regarded as problematic, but not necessarily due to racism. Hardcore punks often blamed them for allowing themselves to be incorporated into the mainstream, that is, when they signed to the first big music labels. In response to such tendencies, a compilation album titled *Fuck Off Major Labels!!!* was produced and proved to be a workable DIY model for releasing hardcore punk and related music in the future.[37] The campaign against major labels occurred especially in Czechia. The Slovak scene underwent similar development, although German autonomism was not a major influence and there was no influential anarchist publication equivalent to the Czech *A-kontra* magazine (which is discussed below).[38]

Moreover, the formation of a strictly DIY scene went hand-in-hand with the intertwining of hardcore punks and newly emerging anti-authoritarian groups. This development inspired many former "apolitical" punks to take up activism. Punk chronicler Filip Fuchs described this boom with the following words: *"the wild underground extreme of human rights and ecological activities, in fact not based on a more sophisticated philosophy"*.[39] This definition reflects among other things the first protests and demonstrations. Moreover, the best-known Czech and Slovak hardcore punk zines were launched in this period or during the late 1990s: *Hluboká Orba* (the most influential and activist), *Malárie*, *Different Life*, *Noise Master*, *Papagájův Hlasatel*, *Death Fist*, *Rudé Právo*, *Cabaret Voltaire* and *Epidemie*. Many of their editorial teams doubled as activist cells. In Czechia *A-kontra*, a key anarchist journal, was launched; in its earliest days it was even distributed in official newspaper kiosks. This journal influenced both activists and hardcore punks, who were often inspired to write polemical articles in their zines to challenge the "intellectual" *A-kontra*.[40]

Nevertheless, as the book *Anarchistická publicistika 1990 – 2013* (Anarchist journalism, 1990 – 2013), published by the Czech and Slovak Anarchist Federation

35 Vitajte! In *Archipelag Vinyl*, http://www.avinyl.sk/

36 CÍSAŘ – KOUBEK 2012, p. 10-11.

37 ŠTĚPÁNEK, Ondřej. Nedáme se pro peníze?! Komodifikace punku a rezistence proti ní. In DANIEL, Ondřej a kol. *Kultura svépomocí. Ekonomické a politické rozměry v českém subkulturním prostředí pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu*. Praha : Univerzita Karlova, 2017, pp. 130-131, 140-141.

38 H.A.D. Bratislavský scene report. In *Smola*, 1999, No. 1.

39 FUCHS 2013.

40 Blizard. Sexismus a Potraty. In *Brněnská Vrtule*, 1992, No. 4, p. 33.

(ČSAF), suggests, beginning in approximately the mid-1990s protest movements aimed to move away from close subcultural links.[41] At the height of anti-globalisation protests (around 1998 – 2002), punks were increasingly labelled as unwelcomed rioters.[42] The Internet deepened the abyss between the activist sphere and hardcore punk scene and caused many zines to fold. But in the early 2000s a new generation of zinesters started to create, and titles such as *Move Your Ass*, *Revoltär* and *Choroba mysli*, appeared. Later in the decade titles like *Smrt*, *Drunk Nach Osten*, *Kazimír*, *Chyba* and *Cerelitida* were established. Current DIY hardcore-oriented publications – for example, *Revenge of the Nerds, Disfrosten, Vyděrač,* and *Herbivore* – also generally cover politics. Moreover, titles flirting with the artzine format can be found on the contemporary Czech hardcore punk scene as well, for example, the hardcore/feminist zine *Mazinerie,* the noise music zine *Black Block Dog* or the skatecore publication *Crook*.

Although new collectives are still popping up, the know-how and subcultural capital necessary for organising influential gigs and releasing records are seemingly still possessed by "the known few", for example, people associated with the Prague venue 007 or the band Kovadlina.[43] Contemporary hardcore punks in Czechia and Slovakia comprise a self-contained scene. For some activist groups, such as the No to Racism! (Ne rasisimu!) initiative, the hardcore scene's anti-authoritarian potential seems to be no longer necessary.

The question of gaining subcultural capital and turning it into economical capital, especially in the context of hipsters, can perhaps be read between the lines, but exact data (at least with this fanzine-centred approach) for more precise research are not yet available. Some hardcore punk publishers avoid participating in the above-mentioned zine fairs and expos,[44] whereas others have started creating publications in an artzine-like style (e.g., the contemporary *Mazinerie* zine). After the 2016 Prague Zine Fair, held at the Prague Trade Fair Palace,[45] such a posh place so far away from DIY approach, the DIY Zine Fest, which was of hardcore persuasion, emerged in Moravia. One of its organisers, Monty, the publisher of fanzine *Elens*, describes the transformation of the scene from widespread "underground extreme" into a closed community of "collectors": *"At Elens zine we try to put together material that is attractive to us and interests us personally, and it is possible that it may interest someone else, because the community of fanzine fans is as big as the community of tin-soldier collectors, so we cannot speak about some kind of revolutionary perspective. Fanzines were in my opinion always connected with punk. And the punk community is underground, a small one, just for enthusiasts and fanatics…"*.[46]

41 *Anarchistická publicistika 1990 – 2013*. Praha : Nakladatelství Československé anarchistické federace, 2014, pp. 3-4; compare with CHARVÁT, Jan. *Současný politický extremismus a radikalismus*. Praha : Portál, 2007, p. 164.

42 *A-kontra*, 2000, No.7; *Komunikace*, 2001 (issue number unknown).

43 Compare with KUMOVÁ, Petra. DO IT ~~YOURSELF~~ TOGETHER. In CHARVÁT, Jan – KUŘÍK, Bob (eds.) *Mikrofon je naše bomba: Politika a hudební subkultury mládeže*. Praha : Togga, 2018, pp. 111-161.

44 MARTIN. Report z Prague Zine Festu 2015. In *Cerelitida*, 2015, No. 5.

45 KŘIVÁK, Prague Zine Fest 2016. In *Crook*, 24. April 2016, http://crook.cz/2016/04/prague-zine-fest-2016/

46 *Mapa zinové tvorby*. *Zinefest Brno*. Brno, 2017, pp. 18-19.

Slovenia – The Avant-Garde Years in Declining Yugoslavia

In Slovenia, which was part of the socialist country (Yugoslavia) that was arguably closest to the West, punk started almost as early as in the West.[47] Padraic Kenney, a researcher specialised in studying protest movements in Central Eastern Europe during the twilight of the socialist era, regards Slovenia an avant-garde within the former Eastern Bloc.[48] The regime's approach was regarded as monoclinous. The state's benevolence was, from time to time, replaced with arbitrary, brutal repression, police violence and close monitoring. Gregor Tomc, applying Herbert Marcuse's theory, calls this stance "repressive tolerance".[49]

The primarily repressive approach to the punk scene in the late 1970s was symbolised by the "Nazi punk affair," when the official regime newspaper *Nedeljski Dnevnik* labelled punkers as "Nazis" conspiring to establish a "Fourth Reich."[50] Such machinations continued for years, and many bands had difficulty finding a place to perform, especially in smaller towns.[51] The ignorance and primitiveness that the authorities displayed discredited the regime in the eyes of contemporary youth and provided fertile ground for parody. The Slovenian "Nazi punk affair" had a Czechoslovak counterpart in the slanderous article *"Nová vlna se starým obsahem"* ("New wave with old contents"), which was published in the Czech official newspaper *Tribuna*.[52] But in Czechoslovakia the result had a far smaller cultural response.

In the early 1980s a new wave of independent music culture challenged the late socialist Yugoslav state, which at that point was already unable to stop it. As I will demonstrate, fanzines played a remarkable role here. Besides Laibach, the most well-known band from this period, there was Borghesia, O!Kult, CZD, Otroci Socializma, Via Ofenziva, Kolaps, Odpadki Civilizacije, Phantasmagoria and Satan Panonski.[53] Some of these groups were even permitted to release albums on the official Jugotron label.[54] Censorship, however, did exist; for example, Pankrti

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47 SODNIK, Melita. *Ohranjeni Škucevi Fanzini, Zgodovinski kontekst in intermedialne navezave*. Master's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2013, p. 6.

48 KENNEY, Padraic. *Karnevalem Revoluce*. Praha : BB art 2005, pp. 255-258.

49 The state's repressive tolerance was the product of tolerance on both the part of citizens and the government: the tolerance on one hand from citizens who tolerated the government to represent the citizens tolerating the government, on the other the government allowing certain kinds of opposition that did not cross the borders of the status quo. Subcultures as well as the minorities, however, often went outside the status quo and hence repression was often aimed against them. TOMC, Gregor. A Tale of Two Subcultures: A Comparative Analysis of Hippie and Punk Subcultures in Slovenia. In LUTHAR, Breda – PUŠNIK, Maruša (eds.) *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*. Washington : New Academia Publishing, 2010, p. 192.

50 LYDIA. Who Gives a Shit. In *Maximumrocknroll*, 2014, No. 378.

51 Interview with Šund. In *Maximumrocknroll*, 2014, No. 378.

52 Aféra Jazzové sekce pokračuje 1983.

53 Besides his extreme onstage behaviour (which involved violence and self-mutilation; he was nicknamed the "GG Allin of the Balkans"), he also declared a "punk revolution" throughout Yugoslavia, which would result in the creation of an independent punk community or even a state. GITTLITZ. A Biography of Satan. In *KAMIKAZA, Satan Panonski fanzine*, 30 March 2016, https://satanpanonski.wordpress.com/2016/03/30/hard-blood-shock-a-biography-of-satan-panonski/

54 DUGONJIĆ, Siniša. *Fanzini sa Marsa. Dokumentarac o srpskoj fanzinaškoj sceni osamdesetih i devedesetih godina*. Satibara Film, 2011, https://vimeo.com/26816160

agreed to change some lyrics on their album Dolgacajt (Boredom).[55] The situation was practically incomparable to Czechoslovakia, where only two bands were given such an opportunity (Visací Zámek and Zóna A, both of which refused to change their lyrics).[56]

The most popular fanzine from that period was *Bla bla bla*, whose inaugural issue came out in the same year as the first issue of the legendary American hardcore zine *Maximumrocknroll* (1982).[57] A series of influential zines followed, including *Pankzija*, *Lolipop* (later *Benjamin*), *Inkriminalni produkt*, *Viks* and *Vrnitev odpisanih*. The lion's share of zines produced at this time were strongly influenced by bands, especially Laibach and Borghesia, who printed them intentionally as manifests. This burst of zine activities would have been hardly possible without the support of *Mladina* magazine and the ŠKUC gallery, which printed and distributed fanzines and operated as a mediator between the authors and the censors.[58] The courtyard of the ŠKUC gallery hosted punk gigs, while the neighbours often protested and security forces took an erratic approach.[59] Between 1981 and 1986, thanks to ŠKUC's involvement, 6,502 units of fanzines were printed.[60] This number is indeed remarkable, keeping in mind that the regime was still repressive and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was one of the smaller constituent states of the Socialist Federal Yugoslav Republic.

Many of the above-mentioned bands from the 1980s were not hardcore. Musically, they were closer to new wave (goth music and punk), but there were also some hardcore bands, such as the above-mentioned Odpadki Civilizacije or the all-female band Tožibabe. This group actively promoted hardcore and printed its own zines as well.[61] Tožibabe's lyrics were introspective and critical, and thus the band was often visited by the secret police.[62] Their Czech counterparts were easily Dybbuk, although this band was not as politically engaged.

In my interviews with Slovenian informants, I regularly asked them if they could think of any past racist elements in the Slovenian/Yugoslavian scene. No one could recall anything of the kind. On the contrary, as other sources point out, many Slovenian bands labelled themselves not only as typical punk "liberal anarchists" (see above), but even as leftist and socialist. Bojan, the singer from the band Kuzle, is even more "leftist": *"Yeah, we were against the system, but we were not thinking in a capitalist way. We were more to the left than that hypocritical system.*

55 Interview with Pankrti. In *Maximumrocknroll*, 2014, No. 378.
56 ŠTĚPÁNEK 2017, p. 132.
57 SODNIK 2013, p. 15.
58 KENNEY 2005, p. 226; SODNIK 2013, pp. 10, 13.
59 Interview with Barbara Boršič. Ljubljana, November 2016.
60 SODNIK 2013, pp. 8-9.
61 Interview with Tožibabe. In *Maximumrocknroll*, 2014, No. 378.
62 SMITH, Geoff. Freezing within the Cold War, or Punk Within the Socialist States – Part 1. In *Maximumrocknroll*, 2014, No. 378.

You can say that we were the Leninists of anarchists."[63] In comparison, there were no truly leftist bands in the Czechoslovak scene, although some did shift to the left decades later (e.g., the above-mentioned Mikoláš Chadima).[64]

Coming back to fanzines, the first issue of *Bla Bla Bla* opened with a daring editorial that presented a manifesto; it proclaimed that rock music, especially punk, helps young people find themselves and that music should be revolutionary.[65] How literally readers should have taken this statement is not important now, but we should not overlook the articulation of the link between music and lifestyle. Padraic Kenney and Slovenian media studies researcher Melita Sodnik regard such proclamations as pointedly activist in nature, thus challenging the official discourse.[66] In every way, young Slovenian fanzine creators took shape especially in ambiguity and irony together with almost permanent parodying of late state socialist discourse,[67] and hard erotica and pornography in general were the main semiotic weapons. Although this is not a surprising approach within the punk community, the Slovenian approach is quite an original intersection between the Western fetish/queer style and typical punk provocation (which was strongly used in Czechoslovakia right after the revolution).

Domen Repnik claims that Slovenian zinesters were even able to write about questions associated with capitalism and hence could have served as a platform for addressing issues that were underdiscussed at that time but which would soon become very important once the socialist regime fell.[68] Although the hardcore style itself was not much disputed at that time, many bands from the 1980s were not far from hardcore in terms of ideas, fanzine production and even activism.

Slovenia: The Rise and Fall of the Hardcore Punk Scene

Considering this legacy, it is a bit surprising that the new hardcore scene that emerged in the first decade after the fall of socialism (represented by bands such as Pizda Materna, Extreme Smoke 57, C.O.R., Aktivna Propaganda, Noise Order, Wasserdicht, Odpisani, Pridigarji,[69] Totalna Revolucija and Man In The Shadow as probably the most influential Slovenian hardcore group) distanced itself from the previous decade's scene. Although there was no need to reckon with racism or nihilism, the new bands clearly distinguished themselves from the older groups, which were regarded as *"99 % commercialised"*.[70] The *Abolishing Borders From Below* bulletin, which was focused on anarchist scenes in South-Eastern and Eastern

63 Interview with Kuzle. In *Maximumrocknroll*, 2014, No. 378.

64 CHADIMA, Mikoláš. Všichni lidé jsou si rovni, ale někteří jsou si rovnější. In *Deník Referendum*, 15. February 2012, http://denikreferendum.cz/clanek/12561-vsichni-lide-jsou-si-rovni-ale-nekteri-jsou-si-rovnejsi

65 *Bla Bla Bla*, 1982, No. 1, unpaginated.

66 SODNIK 2013, p. 17.

67 Napotki za boljše življenje. In *Bla Bla Bla*, 1982, No. 2.

68 Interview with Domen Repnik, Ljubljana, November 2016.

69 The Scene in Slovenia. In *Mankind Disaster*, No. 2-3 / *V.I.T.R.I.O.L.*, No. 5 (splitzine), 1997, unpaginated.

70 GALIČIČ, Matjaž. Komercialni underground – ne hvala! In *V.I.T.R.I.O.L.*, 1996, No. 3.

Europe, affirmed this tendency. It did not consider 1980s Slovenian punk to be ideologically allied.[71] References to the older bands were also very limited on the pages of newly released zines.

The above-mentioned determining approach is especially visible in the critical article *"Komercialni underground – ne hvala!"* ("Commercial underground – no thanks!"), published in the fanzine *V.I.T.R.I.O.L.,* which had a circulation of about 300 copies. Three hundred units of one zine issue indicate at least extraordinary interest within the subcultural field in such a small country. The article itself can be interpreted as a strong appeal to members of the scene, as it emphasises the distinction between what is and what is not DIY and thus what should be excluded from the scene. Although the timing and context are a bit different, there are some similarities between this article and the Czech Fuck Off Major Labels!!! campaign.

Even though the new scene distanced itself from the past, the strength of the subcultural activity seemingly persisted. New zines emerged within the newly formed scene, including *13.brat*, *Punktur*, *Platfuzz*, *Active Phase*, *Provokatorja*, *Cicifuj*, *Dickhead*, *Mankind Desaster*, *Entmoot, Picajzl*, the above-mentioned *V.I.T.R.I.O.L.*, *Krull* and *Drunk in Public*. Although I am not analysing political zines here, I should also mention the Slovenian anarchist zines *Preporod* and *Lesbo zine* and the Croatian *Communitas*. Famous 1980s artzines were in some way the antecedents of 1990s comic titles. Comics were often included in punk fanzines as well. They were sometimes erotic or pornographic in nature, and their publishers often regarded themselves as anarchist sympathisers.[72] In 1992 the comic zine *Stripburger* was launched and today is the most well-known Slovenian artzine[73] and perhaps the most well-known Slovenian zine of all time. It started out as a strictly DIY title with a critical approach; it has been based at the Metelkova squat (see below) in Ljubljana since it was founded. The zine crew was also involved in hardcore shows, and its main goal was to unite artists from all of the former Yugoslavia's successor states. *Stripburger* would eventually receive financial support from municipal authorities. The crew justified this as a *"struggle for better conditions for the artists"*.[74]

The most well-known Slovenian hardcore fanzine, the above-mentioned *13.brat,* contributed to the local scene's development. It was closely associated with the eponymous venue in Nova Gorica. The fanzine itself was influenced not only by the typical hardcore political agenda, but also by the legacy of 1980s pornographic-provocative content. Nevertheless, *13.brat* was balanced in regards to the gender question as well, and pro-queer erotica was also used. But this particular zine is especially interesting because it possessed extraordinary subcultural capital; it was highly respected within DIY scenes despite the fact that some issues (but not all) were supported by the Open Society Foundation.

71 Young anarcho punk movement in Slovenia report. In *Abolishing Borders from Below*, 2002, No. 2, unpaginated.
72 Interview with Jure Perpar. In *Kratki Stik*, c. 1997, No. 2.
73 KOLMANČIČ 2001, pp. 61-62.
74 Interview with Katerina Mirović. Ljubljana, September 2015.

Typical hardcore punk fanzines addressing political topics (for example, repression against anarchists, campaigns against supermarkets) were produced in both Slovenia and Czechia. Some titles took comparable approaches. For example, the above-mentioned *Cicifuj* and the Czech *Underground Harmony* both focused on the struggle to unite the entire underground, and the Slovenian *Entmoot* and the Czech *Cabaret Voltaire* both served as direct instruments of political campaigns. Although a comparison can be drawn between *Hluboká Orba* and *13.brat*, the financial support that the Slovenian title received precludes it.

The DIY cultural activism of 1990s Slovenia was tightly linked to the Metelkova squat, which would later become a popular tourism site in Ljubljana. The squat's history stretches back to the Slovenian Spring protests of 1988, when the buildings served as military barracks. When Yugoslav troops finally evacuated the barracks (in 1991), the future of the complex was debated. Although city hall favoured the idea of demolishing the site, the antimilitaristic discourse of *"culture space instead of military"*[75] inspired the Network for the Metelkova group to develop the Project Metelkova, a platform that united various activists and independent artists. Some members took direct action, occupying the barracks. Punks are remembered as the most tenacious defenders of Metelkova.[76] Regardless of the successful occupation of the complex, part of the collective supported the idea of negotiating with the authorities and favoured the widespread renovation of the buildings to create a broader centre for contemporary art. For many years, there was a remarkable symbiosis here between subcultural youth, radical activists and artists.[77]

After the successful defence of the complex from destruction, its buildings were transformed into venues and galleries filled with various DIY art exhibits. DIY zines and newsletters were printed there as well. The first to be issued was *Emzin* (or *MZIN*),[78] which was followed by *Muha* and later *Metelkovnik*. The KUD Mreža artist collective took the line of negotiation and has maintained it up to the present.[79]

The punks squatting at Metelkova were unruly nihilists fuelled by drugs who ended up burning the *Šola* building to the ground in 1994. After this incident, the punk influence at Metelkova nearly disappeared.[80] The activist-subculture split occurred in Slovenia earlier than the peak of anti-globalisation protests. Nonetheless, punk concerts and even festivals were still held there, mostly in the Gromka building, organised by the Rafal Crew. This promotion team possesses significant subcultural capital and supports only a selected circle of bands, and so not just anyone can play there.[81]

In comparison, Czech squats, such as Ladronka (evicted in 2000) or Milada (evicted in 2009), were also remarkably important for local autonomist movement as well as for culture in general, but, as Czech social anthropologist Arnošt Novák claims,

75 ŽAGAR, Janina. *Metelkova (Město).* Master's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2006, pp. 25-27.

76 Young anarcho punk movement in Slovenia report, 2002.

77 BEJŠOVEK 2015, p. 9.

78 *Metelkovnik*, 1998, No. 1, p. 12.

79 About KUD Mreža. In Kudmreza.org, http://kudmreza.org/about-kud-mreza/

80 Interview with Goran Medjugorac. Ljubljana, November 2016.

81 BABIČ, Jasna. *V vrtincu subkultur*. Ljubljana : Sophia Publisher, 2016, pp. 84-85; Interview with Jasna Babič. Ljubljana, September 2015.

they were still limited to subcultural life.[82] The only Czech squat that transgressed the subcultural level, the more recent Prague-based Klinika, was shut down as well. Despite its slightly different focus, it still met the same fate.

After the turn of the new millennium, the hardcore scene declines significantly in Slovenia, and practically all the fanzines disappeared. Because these publications are the most important sources for the history of the scene, the resulting gap means we cannot really determine what happened. In 2000 Marko Rusjan of Man in the Shadow described the scene as weak and small, noting that zinesters would publish two or three issues of a zine before giving up.[83] As he later remarked in his book, a small scene means that its members tend to stick close together, but when one person leaves, for whatever reason, the scene can easily fall apart before vanishing entirely. When the scene is bigger, Rusjan remarked, as it was in larger countries and cities, people can come and go without having an effect on the scene's core.[84]

Of the contemporary Slovenian DIY publications only the satirical *Mizantrop* (influenced by the erotic and provocatively raw new-wave style of the 1980s) and the obscure *PAF* can be considered punk influenced. In an interview, Biga, the publisher of *PAF* and speaker of Radio Študent, emphasised the so-called generation gap between contemporary zinesters and publishers from the past who have ceased producing zines.[85] Jasna Babič – subcultural researcher, Gromka producer and Rafal Crew co-leader – explained to me that the contemporary Slovenian punk scene is simply lacking "kids" (i.e., people younger than twenty).[86] Domen Repnik also noted the difficult conditions for local promoters – every public event with more than one hundred attendees must be reported to city hall, security must be provided and tax on the entrance fee must be paid.[87] But without any support or distribution, the key place where the cultural products can be spread is a DIY concert.

Despite the above-described situation, not all zine production has disappeared. Today, artzines dominate in Slovenia. The creators of these publications usually put individualism before any scene. Moreover, artzinesters generally do not shy away from institutional support, as they often use every possible asset or any help that cultural institutions offer.[88] Nonetheless, this milieu has not wholly given up on the DIY idea. Many artzinesters are politically engaged, although they tend to subscribe to post-autonomism. They are often vegan or straight edge and thus follow lifestyles that used to be bound to the hardcore punk scene.[89]

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82 NOVÁK, Arnošt. Obsať a žij: squatting a politika každodennosti v Praze. In CHARVÁT, Jan – KUŘÍK, Bob (eds.) *Mikrofon je naše bomba: Politika a hudební subkultury mládeže*. Praha : Togga, 2018, pp. 259-263.

83 Interview with Man in the Shadow, 2000, p. 26.

84 Miran Rusjan interview. In RUSJAN, Marko. *Strah před svobodo, hardkor in upor*. Nova Gorica, 2014, pp. 125-126.

85 Interview with Nejc Bahor. Ljubljana, November 2015.

86 Interview with Jasna Babič. November 2015.

87 Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve. *Javni Shodi in Javne Prireditve*, http://www.mnz.gov.si/si/mnz_za_vas/drustva_ustanove_shodi_prireditve/javni_shodi_in_javne_prireditve/; compare with Ministrstvo za javno upravo, *Prijava javne prireditve oz. Shoda*, https://e-uprava.gov.si/podrocja/vloge/vloga.html?id=1327.

88 Interview with Barbara Beškovnik, November 2016.

89 For example, Look Back and Laugh crew, which organizes the Caffeine Hours zine fair in Ljubljana. Interview with Domen Repnik, Ljubljana, November 2016.

Conclusion

In Czechoslovakia, the state socialist regime limited the creative activities of punks. Political engagement and the emergence of a "true" hardcore punk scene came only after the Velvet Revolution. This scene offered a wide connection with activism that lasted for almost an entire decade and sowed the seeds for the establishment of many non-profit organisations, especially environmental ones. It also condemned the racism that was still present among some older punk bands and individuals. In contrast to Czechoslovakia, the Slovenian scene and its fanzines seemed to be far more belligerent towards the weak but nonetheless still repressive regime. The scene went beyond just punk rebellion, and its influence on the whole society is confirmed by many sources. Finally, it did so without containing flagrantly racist elements, which are contradictory to the tenants of hardcore punk. As one columnist from *Maximumrocknroll* concludes, this scene showed the real strength of punk, which at that time *"exceeded just the level of symbolic threat."*[90]

After the fall of socialism, hardcore punk scenes emerged in Czechia and Slovenia and quickly became part of an international community. Although they were strongly connected to anti-authoritarian activism, in both cases scene members carefully distinguished the current scene from the past scenes. In the case of clarification and later the maintenance of hardcore-punk, anti-chauvinistic approaches, fanzines had a key role in all mentioned countries. Titles such as *Hluboká Orba* (or *Nauzea* from Slovakia) and *13. brat* look quite similar, if we compare them in retrospect. But *Hluboká Orba*, personified by its publisher Filip Fuchs, remained strictly DIY and never accepted any institutional help, even though the political activities associated with it were bound to non-profit organisations. In contrast, *13.brat* was willing to take advantage of official help. This may have influenced the approach of contemporary artzines, whose publishers openly use institutional sources and funds.

In one issue of the *Mizantrop* zine, one of the few non-artzine titles published in Slovenia after the turn of the new millennium, the editor noted, fittingly for this study, that Slovenian zinesters were writing only for a limited group of people that is getting smaller and smaller.[91] The Internet changed the zine community entirely. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia, however, the hardcore punk scene seemingly overcame this crisis, and today fanzines are becoming more popular, even though the zine community remains quite closed.

Whereas in the Czech Republic and especially in Slovakia squatting has been permanently repressed, with essentially zero-tolerance policies in place after the new millennium, in Slovenia the squatting scene has thrived. In contrast, it is very hard to organise pub concerts in Slovenia, whereas in the Czech Republic practically anyone can do it. This may be the reason why there is no notable generation gap and a steady stream of "kids" coming into the scene in Czechia. In contrast, due to the Slovenian generation gap, it is hardly surprising that zines have disappeared.

90 LYDIA 2014.

91 *Mizantrop*, 2008, No. 1, p. 10.

On the other hand, a strong squat scene has persisted in Ljubljana, but we can presume that the strict repression is no longer needed due to gentrification and elitism of the cultural milieu, which in fact goes hand in hand with individualistic capitalism. Having subcultural capital is anyway necessary for an efficient combination of subcultural and activist life in Slovenia as well as in Czech Republic (some pure DIY subcultural/activist groups still operate, but their influence within the scene is minimal). DIY ethics as defined by George McKay and also as a hardcore-punk legacy nevertheless remain current; they have been used during the struggle against gentrification as well as when the new grassroots activist cells have been founded.

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FORUM HISTORIAE

"'Tis with the Chalice that We'll Defend Our Country against the Cross..." Analysing and Comparing the Contents of the Neo-Nazi Fanzine Skinformátor and the Utraquist Zine Kalich*

Jan Charvát

Abstract

Charvát, Jan: "'Tis with the Chalice that We'll Defend Our Country against the Cross..." Analysing and Comparing the Contents of the Neo-Nazi Fanzine Skinformátor and the Utraquist Zine Kalich.

Fanzines simultaneously reflected the subculture's ideological cleavages, including those within the far-right branch itself (disregarding anti-racist or apolitical fanzines). As the racist skinhead subculture formed in the first half of the 1990s, it split into the more-or-less open neo-Nazis, on the one hand, and the so-called Utraquist skinheads, with their ideological amalgam of nationalism, racism and authoritarianism, on the other. The Utraquist skinhead groups are a unique Czech phenomenon; they have no international counterparts and have thus far received minimal attention. Therefore, the research question follows: In what ways are the publications of a selected neo-Nazi zine (Skinformátor, "The Skin-informer") different from a selected representative of the Utraquist zines (Kalich, "The Chalice")? In the following, I am going to focus on comparing the choice of topics and their elaboration in the two fanzines. It is not the goal of this paper to analyse the different categories of fanzine content in depth. My goal at this research stage is to identify the contrasts between the two fanzines as representatives of different approaches to politicising skinhead subculture in the far-right context.

Keywords: skinheads, far-right, fanzines, subculture, neo-Nazism, nationalism

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In recent years, the issues of the (not only) the subcultural far-right have become an essential focus of both Czech sociology and political science. After many years of dominance of the perspective of extremism theory,[1] several works with a different orientation have recently appeared, whether based in sociology[2] or history[3] or taking an interdisciplinary approach.[4] At the same time, there

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1 *Extremismus mládeže v České republice*. Praha : Institut pro kriminologii a sociální prevenci, 1996; FIALA, Petr. (ed.) *Politický extremismus a radikalismus v České republice*. Brno : Masaryk University, 1998; MAREŠ, Miroslav. *Pravicový extremismus a radikalismus v ČR*. Brno : Barrister & Principal; Centrum strategických studií, 2003; CHARVÁT, Jan. *Současný politický extremismus a radikalismus.* Praha : Portál, 2007.

2 KOLÁŘOVÁ, Marta (ed) *Revolta stylem: Hudební subkultury mládeže ČR*. Praha : SLON, 2011; HEŘMANSKÝ, Martin – NOVOTNÁ, Hedvika. Hudební subkultury. In Janeček, Petr (ed.) *Folklor atomového věku. Kolektivně sdílené prvky expresivní kultury v soudobé české společnosti*. Praha : Národní museum; Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2011, pp. 89-110; NOVOTNÁ, Hedvika – HEŘMANSKÝ, Martin. Shared Enemies, Shared Friends: the Relational Character of Subcultural Ideology in the Case of Czech Punks and Skinheads. In THE SUBCULTURES NETWORK (eds.) *Fight Back: Punk, Politics and Resistance.* Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2014, pp. 170-185.

3 DANIEL, Ondřej. *Násilím proti "novému biedermeieru". Subkultury a většinová společnost pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu*. Příbram : Pistorius & Olšanská, 2016.

4 CHARVÁT, Jan – KUŘÍK, Bob (eds.) *Mikrofon je naše bomba. Politika a subkultury mládeže v postsocialistickém Česku*. Praha : Togga, 2018.

has been no in-depth study of skinhead fanzines in the Czech context, although the topic has repeatedly appeared in the literature.

The topic is made even more impressive by the fact that a relatively large number of fanzines emerged from the Czech skinhead subculture, which contributed to forming the ideology of first-generation skinheads. They simultaneously reflected the subculture's ideological cleavages, including those within the far-right branch itself (disregarding anti-racist or apolitical fanzines). As the racist skinhead subculture formed in the first half of the 1990s, it split into more-or-less open neo-Nazis, on the one hand, and so-called Utraquist skinheads, with their ideological amalgam of nationalism, racism and authoritarianism, on the other. The Utraquist skinhead groups are a unique Czech phenomenon; they have no international counterparts and have thus far received minimal attention.

Research question and methodology

Therefore, the research question follows: In what ways are the publications of a selected neo-Nazi zine (*Skinformátor,* "The Skin-former") different from a selected representative of Utraquist zines (*Kalich,* "The Chalice")? In the following, I am going to focus on comparing the choice of topics and their elaboration in both fanzines. It is not the goal of this paper to analyse the different categories of fanzine content in depth. My goal at this research stage is to identify the contrasts between the two fanzines as representatives of different approaches to politicising the skinhead subculture in the far-right context.

As far as methodology is concerned, I proceeded in accordance with the principles of inductive thematic analysis.[5] This method follows five steps, with the writing of the report itself as an additional sixth step. The first step involved getting acquainted with the texts of both fanzines. I started by initially inspecting each text and identifying the units of meaning. I then generated codes to determine the basic categories covering the different units of meaning. In the third step, I identified the main themes appearing in both fanzines. The fourth step consisted of "cleaning" the themes to avoid overlap. In practice, I re-read all the texts and corrected the ways the units were assigned to categories or subcategories. In the fifth step, I established the final main themes addressed by the fanzines and their internal structures in order to compare the two fanzines.

Skinheads in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic

The formation of the skinhead subculture in Czechoslovakia began in the second half of the 1980s, while the communist regime was still in place. A key role was played by the band Orlík, which emerged around the popular actors David Matásek and especially Daniel Landa, Orlík's lead singer. Founded in 1988, the band identified with the skinhead subculture and promoted a combination of (mainly)

5 BRAUN, Virginia – CLARKE, Victoria. Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. In *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 2006, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 77-101.

Antiziganist racism, nationalism and anti-communism.[6] This mix made Orlík extremely popular after the Velvet Revolution of 1989. A skinhead boom thus started after 1989 and lasted till approximately 1992, when it slowly came to a halt. The year 1993 saw the formation of the first official organisations based in this subculture (Vlastenecká fronta, Vlastenecká liga) as well as informal associations of an openly neo-Nazi nature (Bohemia Hammer Skins).[7]

As opposed to Western Europe's far-right, which had been forming for decades after WWII, the Czech far-right was rebuilt from zero after 1989. This is why the skinhead subculture and its racist part, in particular, won dominant status in the 1990s far-right. Apart from Miroslav Sládek's populist-right party and minority groups of Clerico-fascist orientation, the skinhead subculture was the only milieu that articulated its far-right ideology and political identity.[8] In contrast to purely political projects, though, this milieu was able to inspire a large following, especially in the young generation. However, among its central issues were often rather a subcultural image, violence and White Power Music (also WPM).[9] Racism was intrinsically linked to the skinhead identity and viewed as a natural part of the subcultural style (as demonstrated by one of the milieu's later leaders in his autobiographical amateur oral history).[10]

As such, the entire subculture became strongly politicised; politics itself became a subcultural attribute, indivisible from the skinhead identity as such (here I refer to the level of racist skinheads; other, non-racist skinhead groups emerged rather slowly and always represented a small minority within the subculture).[11] This, however, does mean that the skinheads identified as political activists. The subculture members' relations to political engagement oscillated between acceptance (where the subculture acted somewhat as a political movement) and rejection (to return to the subcultural roots).[12]

The formative period was concluded by the establishment of a Czech branch of the international Hammer Skinheads organisation, the Bohemia Hammer Skinheads (BHS), which ultimately shifted the orientation of most Czech skinheads from the original Orlík-like racism to open neo-Nazism.[13] The BHS was the most important Czech neo-Nazi skinhead organisation formed in the first half of the 1990s. It dates back to 1993 when it emerged around the long-term activists of the Czech

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6 ORAVCOVÁ, Anna – CHARVÁT, Jan. Czech Rap Music and Right-Wing Attittudes. In *Central European Journal of Politics,* 2018, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 80-105.

7 MAZEL, Michal. Oponenti systému. In FIALA, Petr (ed.) *Politický extremismus a radikalismus v České republice*. Brno : Masarykova univerzita, 1998, p. 247.

8 DANIEL 2016; MAREŠ 2003.

9 More on the categories of White Power Music see CHARVÁT, Jan. The Role and Importance of White Power Music in Shaping the Far Right in the Czech Republic. In BLÜML, Jan – KAJANOVÁ Yvetta – RITTER, Rüdiger (eds.) *Popular Music in Communist and Post-Communist Europe.* Berlin : Peter Lang, 2019, pp. 243-253.

10 VÁVRA, Filip. *Těžký boty to vyřešej hned! – Skinheads v Praze na konci 80. a začátku 90. let.* Praha : Fiva Publishing, 2017.

11 MAREŠ 2003, p. 403.

12 CHARVÁT 2007.

13 MAZEL 1998, p. 247.

neo-Nazi scene.[14] From the beginning, it identified as an activist, elite and militant group rejecting traditional political activities (parties and elections) and oriented towards a "white revolution".

After several racially motivated skinhead attacks that resulted in bloodshed, the Czech police began combating neo-Nazi groups more vigorously around 1995. During the 1990s, BHS activities were monitored and subsequently dispersed by the police. The police also eliminated a network of post office boxes through which fanzines were distributed. Some leading activists were incarcerated, and others receded into the background and started "normal" lives. By around 1996, the BHS organisation was practically inactive.[15] Czechia's most important neo-Nazi skinhead organisation of its time, BHS, took on a paramilitary appearance and at the same time openly adored National Socialism. Its organisation was centred in Brno and Moravia at large.

So-called Utraquistism was a specific orientation that emerged in the context of Czech far-right skinheads.[16] The Utraquists followed the music of Orlík, whose lyrics promoted a patriotic and anti-communist skinhead identity, embraced Hussite traditionalism and rejected German Nazism. Although they relied on nationalism and racism, the Utraquists were against neo-Nazism and antisemitism. Registered with the Ministry of Interior in 1993, the Vlastenecká liga (VL) became the most crucial Utraquist skinhead organisation. In the mid-1990s, it grew to relative prominence and somewhat counterbalanced the openly neo--Nazi skinheads. It soon got into a major conflict with them. As a result, in 1996, the VL gave up the skinhead identity and instead embraced a purely political orientation in the future. However, this led to the gradual disintegration of the organisation and Utraquistism as a peculiar local variant of the skinhead subculture. After several attempts at resurrection, most of the organisation's activists left for apolitical skinheads or anti-racist skinheads (S.H.A.R.P.) on the one hand, and nationalist political organisations on the other. The subcultural framework seems to have played a significant role in bringing in new members and inspiring devotion among existing ones.[17] In any case, Utraquistism was a relatively original contribution to the forms of skinhead subculture.

In addition to openly neo-Nazi publications, Utraquist skinheads produced their fanzines (*Práče*, which was the Hussite term for boy soldier; *Český štít*, "The Czech Shield"; and the Kalich), which followed-up on Orlík's original works and its specific interpretation of the Hussite tradition.[18] While they especially accentuated patriotic and anti-German attitudes, they made no references to religious issues.

14 MAZEL 1998, p. 247.

15 MAREŠ 2003, p. 472.

16 MAZEL 1998, p. 260.

17 SLAČÁLEK, Ondřej – CHARVÁT, Jan. Setkávání na okrajových scénách. Průsečíky politického a subkulturního radikalismu v polistopadovém Česku. In *Český lid*, 2019, Vol. 106, No. 1, pp. 107-126.

18 SMOLÍK, Josef – NOVÁK, Petr. Roots of the Czechoslovak Skinheads: Development, Trends and Politics. In *Human Affairs*, 2019, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 157-173.

They were typically affiliated with the VL as the officially registered organisation of mostly Utraquist skinheads.[19]

Fanzines

Stephen Duncombe's (1997) *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* is perhaps the most seminal work of fanzine studies. The author provides the following definition: *"Zines are non-commercial, nonprofessional, small-circulation magazines which their creators produce, publish and distribute by themselves"*.[20] He notes that fanzines in the U.S. context can be traced back to the 1930s, albeit they proliferated, especially with the punk revolt of the 1970s. Duncombe argues that fanzines generally play a role in community building and are motivated culturally by the opportunity to present one's attitudes. Although he primarily focuses on fanzines in the alternative leftist scene, he also brings attention to neo-Nazi fanzines, characterising them as more political and pamphlet-like, with the primary goal of promoting an ideology. This is also supported by Kaja Marczewska's 2019 study of Polish far-right zines. She, too, argues that the fanzine culture is so deeply connected with and influenced by the punk revolt that most researchers assume all fanzines to be automatically alternative and leftist. *"The punk heritage heavily informs the approach to cultural production represented in zines: zine publishing not only works outside of the market, it actively opposes its logic, working against the corporate media and the culture of late capitalism. As such, it is also implicitly associated with predominantly left-wing politics"*.[21] However, she identifies the same principles underlying the operation of fanzines far-right and left-wing alike. The former contribute to unifying the far--right scene even when political propaganda recedes into the background: *"These publications are now not a tool of propaganda and a means of communicating messages otherwise invisible in the mainstream, but rather a form of community building and inter-group association"*.[22] Furthermore, she continues: *"What emerges, then, from the pages of these zines, is a sense of collective and highly homogenous identity and a sense of a community that speaks in a unified voice"*.[23]

Skinhead fanzines in the Czech Republic

When the boom of the racist branch of the skinhead movement started in the early 1990s in Czechoslovakia, the initial ideology of Czech skinheads was primarily formulated and promoted by the mushrooming skinhead bands. It soon became apparent, though, that concerts alone could not satisfy the emerging subculture's demand for information. This resulted in the fast development of skinhead fan-

19 CHARVÁT 2007, p. 149

20 DUNCOMBE, Stephen. *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*. London; New York : Verso, 1997, p. 11.

21 MARCZEWSKA, Kaja. Zine Publishing and the Polish Far Right. In FIELITZ, Maik – THURSTON, Nick (eds.) *Post-Digital Cultures of the Far Right: Online Actions and Offline Consequences in Europe and the US.* Bielefeld : transcript Verlag, 2019, pp. 107-119.

22 MARCZEWSKA 2019, p. 114.

23 MARCZEWSKA 2019, p. 115.

zines.[24] Established in the town of Žacléř in 1990, *Hubert* was the skinhead subculture's first fanzine. This type of publication assumed a central role in the gradual unification of the neo-Nazi movement. While bands continued to be tremendously valuable, the new fanzine medium won considerable support and many fans. This is because the concerts of neo-Nazi bands were relatively infrequent and expensive for most participants.

In contrast, fanzines were cheap and could be obtained through a network of relatively anonymous P.O. Boxes. As a result, they became central to the formation of new ideological patterns.[25] For some time they served as the vital medium promoting the neo-Nazi ideology. The relatively short-lived "golden age" of Czech skinhead fanzines took place in the mid-1990s.

There was an extremely varying quality to the skinhead or, more precisely, neo-Nazi fanzines, ranging from genuinely do-it-yourself glued-together pages of photocopied text to relatively good-looking booklets with adequate graphic layout. Their contents were centred on authors' essays about contemporary society (especially on issues of the Roma, migrants and ideological enemies), pieces on history and mythology (typically adopted from official magazines) and band interviews.[26] Due to their rigid uniformity, as described by Kaja Marczewska, interviews soon became the trademark of all neo-Nazi fanzines. Every interview included a set of near-compulsory questions like *"What do you think about migrants, gipsies, communists…"* or a positive version thereof such as *"What do you think of the skinheads, BHS, National Socialism…"*. Publications like these were not difficult to make – a keen interest and essential equipment were all one needed. This is why several dozen zines appeared in the Czech territory during the first half of the 1990s. Their very titles spoke clearly: *The Reich's Guard*, *The Aryan Fight*, *The Skinformátor*, *The Patriot*, *The National Fight*.[27]

While the number of fanzine creators is hard to estimate, it seems from the composition of the articles that most collectives comprised of one or two principal authors and a small group, preferably in low units, of occasional correspondents. Therefore, the total number of individuals participating in the production of a single fanzine likely did not exceed five.

The second half of the 1990s marked the end of the early formative period of the skinhead subculture in Czech territory. Organisations were shut down and replaced by a new generation, one that also approached its media differently. The number of periodicals decreased considerably in the new millennium, while the quality improved.[28] This can be exemplified by *Phoenix*, a magazine published by the Czech branch of Blood and Honour. This was the effect of the transfer of foreign know-how and the growing funds raised by the leaders

24 SMOLÍK – NOVÁK 2019.
25 MAREŠ 2003, p. 413.
26 SMOLÍK – NOVÁK 2019.
27 MAZEL 1998, p. 249.
28 SMOLÍK – NOVÁK 2019.

of the neo-Nazi scene. Most printed fanzines were shut down around the year 2002 when media and propaganda moved online.

The "Skinformátor"

One of the most remarkable works of the racist branch of Czech skinheads, *Skinformátor* ("The Skin-informer") fanzine was published from 1994 to 1996, namely in the "golden age" of the country's National Socialist zines. A total of seven issues came out, making it one of the longest-lived zines with the highest number of individual publications. At the same time, the *Skinformátor* earned a very high number of media mentions (negative ones, which Czech neo-Nazis mostly did not mind), mostly due to its utterly explicit identification with the neo-Nazi ideology. This is what made the *Skinformátor* a role model for many other neo-Nazi zines. It is from this perspective that I view it as the ideal representative of the Czech neo-Nazi skinhead fanzine scene.

As a printed zine, the *Skinformátor* was distributed both at concerts and (like most other skinhead zines of the time) through a P. O. Box as its contact address. The P.O. Box was based in the North Bohemian city of Most.[29] The region has long been struck by unemployment, and at the same time, it is home to many ghettos and a large Roma community. Due to this combination, the far-right in North Bohemia has been more successful than in other parts of the Czech Republic from the 1990s to the present.[30]

As noted above, most skinhead zines were distributed through postal office boxes in the 1990s. This allowed their authors to remain anonymous. At the same time, the P.O. Boxes served to distribute music records, the other major element in the formation of the racist skinhead ideology. Interestingly, starting with No. 6, the *Skinformátor* postal office box also delivered the zine National Fight, based initially in the town of Bzenec.[31] Edition No. 7 contained a notice that the zines *Hlas krve* (The Voice of Blood) and *Impérium* (The Empire) could also be purchased through the P.O. Box.

Likewise, starting with No. 6, the *Skinformátor* declared its affiliation with the Bohemia Hammer Skinheads organisation.[32] Founded in 1995,[33] the BHS branch in the city of Most was probably associated with the *Skinformátor's* editorial circle.

Content analysis

In analysing the *Skinformátor* contents, I focused on several elements. My first goal was to identify the main themes addressed by the fanzine. Somewhat to my surprise, the list of themes was a concise one. The *Skinformátor* practically focu-

29 Salute kamarádi !!! In *Skinfornátor*, No. 2, p. 2.

30 VEJVODOVÁ, Petra. Neonacismus. In BASTL, Martin – MAREŠ, Miroslav – SMOLÍK, Josef – VEJVODOVÁ, Petra. *Krajní pravice a krajní levice v ČR*. Praha : Grada Publishing, 2011, p. 164.

31 Salute kamarádi !!! In *Skinformátor*, No. 6, p. 2.

32 In addition to the *Skinformátor*, the zines affiliated with BHS included the *Patriot*, *The Hammer News*, *The White Rock Music*, *Nová Evropa* ("the New Europe"), and the *Skinhead Zone* (MAZEL 1998, p. 249).

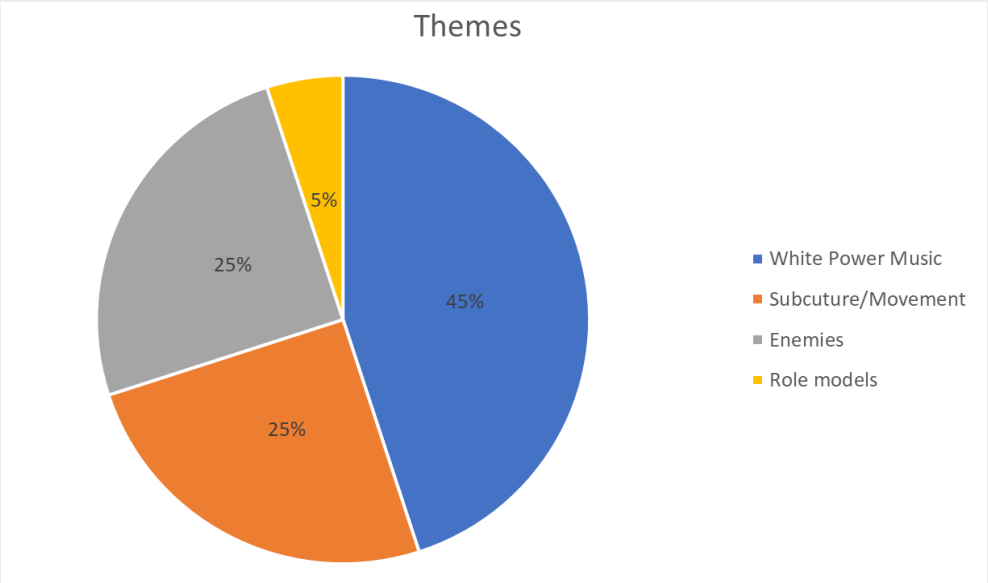
33 MAREŠ 2003, p. 471.

sed on only four different areas of interest: White Power Music, the subculture/movement, the enemies and something I refer to as "role models" – texts in the fourth category were concerned with historical models – Norse mythological figures and Hitler Nazis – and were used by the zine's authors to exemplify "appropriate actions" their readers should follow.

I should add that there were relatively frequent overlaps between the different categories. An article on Eric Banks, the singer of the U.S. band Bound For Glory,[34] was categorised as related to WPM, but also contained a passage on enemies (accounting for a street fight in which Eric Banks died at the hands of anti-racist skinheads), and called for following his example, something that is rather an aspect of the movement. I proceeded in the analysis as follows: when there were multiple themes in an article, each of them was tagged separately (unless this was a minuscule mention). Therefore, the dataset contains more units than there are texts published in the fanzine.

In total, I identified 56 separate units of meaning in the *Skinformátor* fanzine. Twenty-five of them were categorised as White Power Music, 14 in the movement/subculture category, 14 in the enemies category, and three in the role models category.

The graph below makes it clear that White Power Music was the zine's leading issue by far – to little surprise when viewing zines primarily as fandom vehicles focusing on the realm of culture.



Graph 1.
Themes addressed by the *Skinformátor* zine

The themes categorised under White Power Music belonged to several distinct areas. First, there was information about concerts and reports from past concerts. The second group includes interviews with bands from the Czech Republic and abroad. Third, there is a relatively large number of advertisements for CDs

34 Erik Banks /1971 – 1993/. In *Skinformátor*, No. 6, p. 6.

and the different bands' promotional merchandise. Finally, this category also includes regular charts of the most popular bands, both Czech and foreign. The texts reveal a relatively good acquaintance with the international WPM scene as well as contacts that the fanzine's authors were able to establish. This information was published for two general reasons. The first was social networking across the neo-Nazi scene. The second reason was to emphasise cultural capital and thus increase the zine's relevance in the eyes of its readers. From the third issue, the first acknowledgements referred to the German record company Di-AI Records. The acknowledgements in No. 7 were directed to the Italian bands ADL 122, Peggior Amico, and Corona Ferrera and the Polish band Konkwista 88. The concert reports, too, demonstrate the zine authors' ability to visit not only Czech and Slovak concerts but also outstanding concerts abroad.

The second category concerns texts informing about the skinhead subculture as such. Given the nature of the content included here, I instead opted for the label subculture/movement, because I believe that no clear line can be drawn between both concepts in the case of the 1990s Czech skinhead scene. From the moment the skinhead subculture entered the public space at the very beginning of the 1990s, most mass media referred to it as "the skinhead movement," and this has practically prevailed in the media discourse till the present day. Although some skinheads opposed the label at that time, most have adopted the term as their own, and, from the early 1990s, the Czech racist skinhead milieu has viewed itself as a movement rather than a subculture. Birmingham School researchers assumed that a subculture is comprised of working-class youth, and since it does not have a precisely formulated set of demands (it is indeed not used to this way of thinking), it uses symbols as its primary way of relating to political contents.[35] This approach, however, does not fully apply to the Czech neo-Nazi skinhead milieu. Although the racist skinhead subculture in the Czech Republic after 1989 did predominantly consist of blue-collar youth, it always understood political agenda (albeit a highly schematic one) as a natural part of its subcultural activities.

Consequently, in the *Skinformátor* contents, political aspects are intertwined with subcultural ones, and they cannot be distinguished. As such, in most texts categorised as "subculture/movement," the references made to music or fashion are somewhat distant, and the political imperatives placed on the fanzine's readers play a much more critical role. More specifically, the authors make it clear how their readers should or should not behave. Such an approach might certainly also be acceptable in a subcultural arrangement, regarding norms rooted in the subcultural ideology, as described by Sarah Thornton[36] or by the Czech authors Heřmanský and Novotná.[37] However, it is rather a political rationale that frames

35 CLARKE, John – HALL, Stuart – JEFFERSON, Tony – ROBERTS, Brian. Subcultures, Cultures and Class. In HALL, Stuart – JEFFERSON, Tony (eds.) *Resistance through Rituals. Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain.* 2nd ed. London; New York : Routledge, 2006, pp. 3-59; KUŘÍK, Bob – SLAČÁLEK, Ondřej – CHARVÁT, Jan. Roviny politizace ve výzkumu hudebních subkultur mládeže. In *Sociologický časopis / Czech Sociological Review*, 2018, Vol. 54, No. 5, pp. 781-804.

36 THORNTON, Sarah. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge : Polity, 1995.

37 NOVOTNÁ – HEŘMANSKÝ 2014, pp. 170-185.

the issue of skinhead behaviour in the *Skinformátor*. Its readers are admonished to act in line with their movement's needs, whereas the "Endsieg" of the white race represents the ultimate imperative. This approach appears in the article entitled, *"Think about It"*, where the author talks about his disgust at some skinheads' behaviour during an Independence Day rally in Prague. According to the author, their actions were caused by their low political and moral consciousness and reflected poorly on the entire skinhead movement. Likewise, the articles about Eric Banks and Ian Stuart[38] frame their life and death as a struggle for liberty and National Socialism. The article named "Support Our Common Goal"[39] explains that readers should buy cassette tapes (instead of recording their copies from friends) in order to be one step closer to the joint victory. In the same issue, the text entitled *"Are We United?"* again explains the need for unity by appealing to the everyday struggle and the sacred racial war.

At the same time, there is an almost complete absence of texts on the history or characteristics of the skinhead subculture. Interestingly, the only complete reprint that appeared in the *Skinformátor* was an article named *"How Oi! Lived and Died in the Lands of the Czech Crown"* by Jiří X. Doležal[40] of *Reflex* magazine. However, this article made no references to the history of the skinhead subculture or the role of black musicians in shaping the early stage of the subculture in 1960s England.

The texts in this category emphasise political activities and their consequences. Directly speaking, the *Skinformátor* never examines how to be "a good skinhead" and instead is concerned with being "a good National Socialist," which is in line with the self-concept mentioned above of a movement rather than a subculture.

The terminology applied is consistent with this. The term "movement" appeared as early as in the introductory article of No. 3,[41] and then again in a concert report from the village of Velký Dřevíč.[42] Likewise, it is mentioned in the last issue, namely its opening article[43] and another article entitled *"Are We United?"*.[44] There is no single mention of the term subculture in the zine. Two instances of the term "scene" appear in a short text on Eric Banks[45] and an advertisement on Vlajka's record *Skin'n'Roll*[46] – both texts are exclusively concerned with music, in which context the word scene is a matter-of-course. At the same time, the issue of the movement is intertwined with the category of enemies presented by the *Skinformátor*. This category includes 14 units referring to groups against which the zine's authors take a stance.

38 Erik Banks /1971 – 1993/. In *Skinformátor,* No. 6, p. 6; Ian Stuart. In *Skinformátor,* No. 6, p. 7-8.

39 Podporujte náš společný cíl. In *Skinformátor,* No. 7, p. 3.

40 In the early 1990s, the journalist Jiří X. Doležal spent some time frequenting and taking an interest in the Prague skinhead milieu. Therefore, he was at least partially acceptable to the skinheads at that time.

41 Bílý opdor!!! 50 let. In *Skinformátor*, No. 3, p. 2.

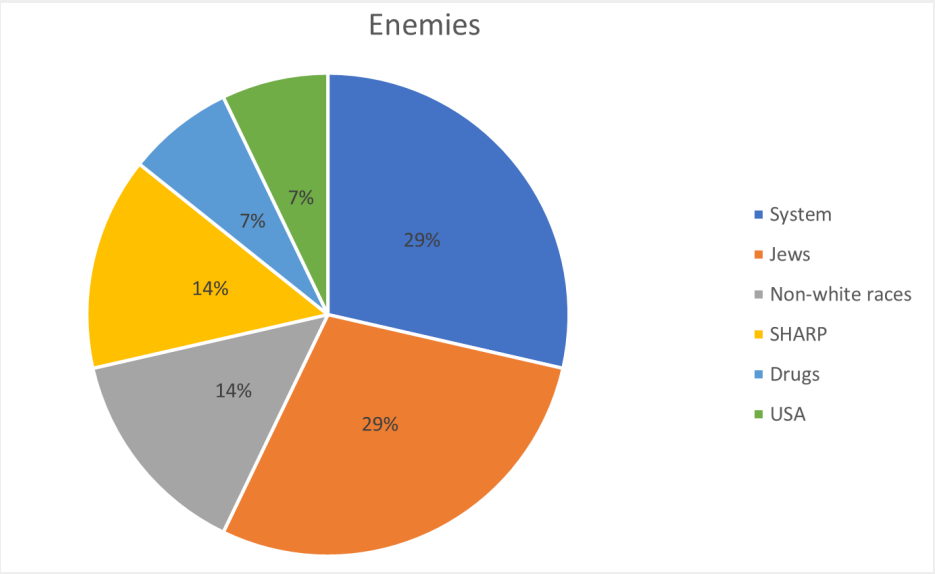
42 Velký Dřevíč 26. 11. 1994. In *Skinformátor*, No. 3, p. 7.

43 *Skinformátor*, No. 7, p. 2.

44 Jsme jednotní? In *Skinformátor*, No. 7, p. 4.

45 Erik Banks /1971-1993/. In *Skinformátor,* No. 6, p. 6.

46 CD. In *Skinformátor,* No. 6, p. 19.



Graph 2.
Overview of *Skinformátor's* enemies

The analysis uses the label "system" for the first group of enemies, which encompasses almost one-third of the entire category. This includes texts against the media and the police (very traditional foes of the skinhead subculture irrespective of political affiliation or country), and I also opted to include an article entitled "Where Is Our Youth Going?",[47] in which the author reflects on the situation of the youth in general and argues that it is exposed to the influence of U.S. television, Zionism and drugs. He provides a kind of catalogue of enemies who all have in common the problematic fact of being promoted by the media in contemporary society. Another article that focuses exclusively on the media, then deals with the effects of the media and the American lifestyle.

Jews represent the second category of enemies. Using a peculiar shorthand, the *Skinformátor* talks about Jews as *"embodiment of the world's greatest filth"*.[48] The entire text is highly schematic and, as opposed to one on the Vietnamese (see below), it lacks any real account based on personal experience, however, distorted that might be. Jews are also mentioned in interviews or with regard to the country's first commercial TV station, Nova.

The third group of enemies is defined in racial terms and includes the Vietnamese in particular. There was the option to merge both racially defined categories, namely racism, and antisemitism. However, latent racism towards the Roma and the Vietnamese was relatively commonplace in the 1990s society while open antisemitism was highly exceptional. That is the reason why I kept the two categories separate. In any case, if they were to be merged, they would comprise the largest group of enemies of all. The *Skinformátor* criticises the Vietnamese for being wealthy, for attacking Czechs, but especially for having relations with Czech girls, something referred to by the zine as *"the crime of collaborationism*

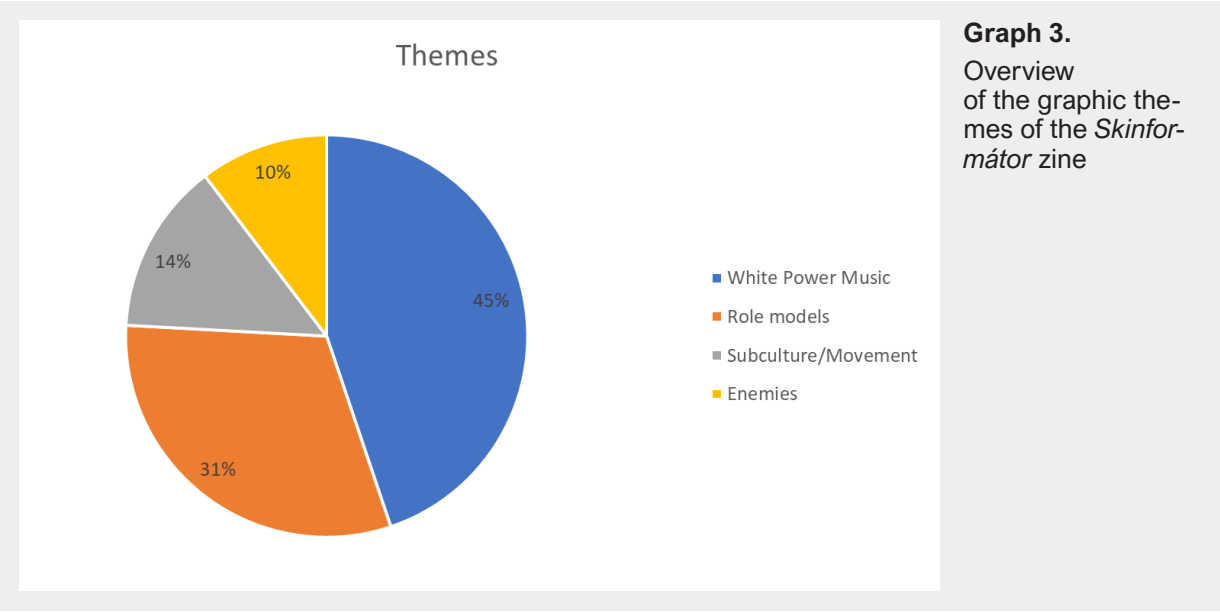
47 Kam směřuje dnešní mládež? In *Skinformátor*, No. 2, pp. 9-10.
48 Žid – škůdce naší rasy. In *Skinformátor,* No. 2, p. 5.

and racial mixing".[49] Other texts generally talk about racism as a doctrine that is essential to National Socialism and the survival of the white race.

Anti-racist skinheads (S.H.A.R.P.) represent the last principal subcategory of enemies. In the texts analysed, this relatively small segment was targeted by a considerable level of hate, which is in line with other evidence as well.[50]

Drug users and the U.S.A. were the remaining groups of enemies. Drugs symbolise the complete loss of control over one's life and are viewed as a consequence of following televised (American) role models. Finally, the United States is perceived as a symbol of decadence.

The last category, with three articles, includes imagined (historic) role models. Two such texts are concerned with Viking history, and one glorifies the Second World War. Both articles on Norse legends are devoted exclusively to that topic, mixing admiration of heroism with an intent to extend the political program to include a quasi-religious dimension. The text remembering WWII once again emphasises heroism and, at the same time, calls on contemporary Nazi followers to draw links between history and their current activities.



Graph 3.
Overview of the graphic themes of the *Skinformátor* zine

The graphic layout was the last aspect of the *Skinformátor* zine that I analysed. For skinhead zines, imagery generally plays a role at least as important as texts, and this case is no exception. The graphic themes can be divided into the same categories as the textual ones, namely White Power Music, role models, subculture/movement and enemies.

Logically, the largest category is comprised of WPM-themed images, above all concert photos and record covers. The category of role models exhibits highly similar

49 Yellow submarines. In *Skinformátor,* No. 2, p. 6.
50 For more details, CHARVÁT – KUŘÍK 2018.

themes, as in the case of texts. Pictures of Viking warriors and gods are a popular motif, followed by Wehrmacht and SS officers and then Klansmen. Pronounced masculinity is a common denominator. The category of subculture/movement consists of subcultural symbolism and covers of fanzines reviewed or sold. The category of enemies reveals medical depictions (race) or antisemitic caricatures.

The "Kalich"

Utraquistism represents a specifically Czech variant of the skinhead subculture. It dates back to the late 1980s when Bohemia saw the inception of the Orlík band that openly identified with the skinhead subculture, incorporated open racism and nationalism in its lyrics, but strived to avoid associations with neo-Nazism and instead chose the 15th-century Hussite movement as its role model, a symbol referring to anti-German nationalism. A relatively outstanding early 1990s band, Orlík, also gave rise to the Vlastenecká liga, one of the officially registered organisations, in 1993.[51]

Several fanzines were published under the Patriot League. While the *Czech Shield* was perhaps the most popular, it gradually became a rather standard magazine focusing on organisational matters of the VL itself. As such, it was not suitable for my purposes. Besides, several Utraquist skinhead fanzines were published in association with the VL, of which the *Kalich* was the most important one.

A total of seven issues of the *Kalich* were published in the years 1994 – 1995. It thus belonged to the same period and encompassed the same number of issues as the *Skinformátor*. The fanzine was first distributed from a residential address and then, starting with No. 3, through a post office box, as was the custom at the time. The *Kalich* was published in the town of Jičín and directly associated with the local branch of the VL. The final, sixth issue stated the disintegration of the local VL organisation as the reason for shutting down the fanzine.

As opposed to the *Skinformátor*, more in-depth networking did not appear until the fifth issue, which ran ads for four other Utraquist fanzines. Acknowledgements, a natural part of most neo-Nazi zines, also appeared rather sporadically in the *Kalich* and typically were entirely personal, without obvious subcultural implications. As an exception, the final issue ran a more significant number of greetings and acknowledgements.

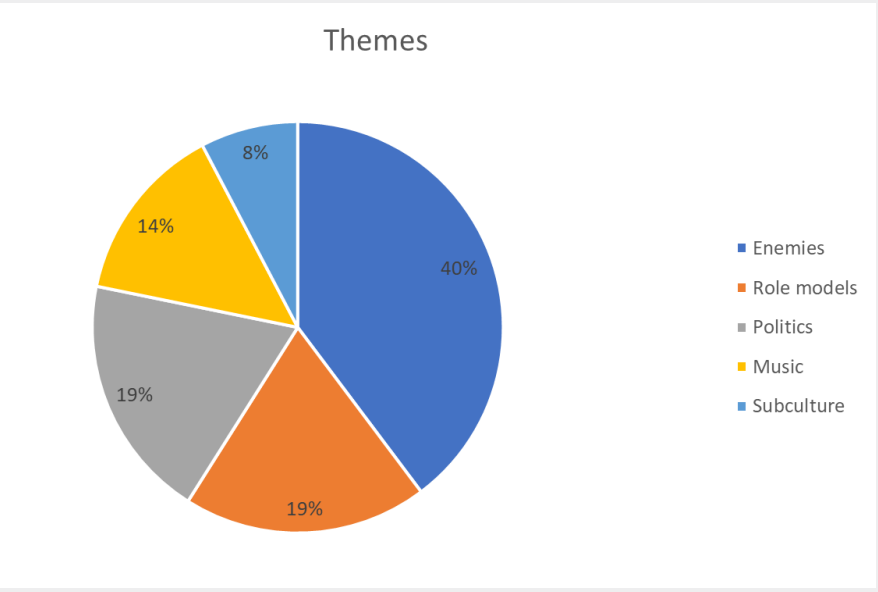
Content analysis

As in the case of the *Skinformátor*, I focused on the critical areas covered by the *Kalich*. The results were somewhat dissimilar. The categories were slightly more numerous, broader in coverage and different in weight. I identified five separate categories, yet most of them contained certain subthemes.

I proceeded in the same way as with the *Skinformátor* fanzine: when a *Kalich* article covered several themes, each of them was tagged separately. Thus, the dataset once again contains more units than there were texts published in the fanzine.

51 MAZEL 1998, p. 260.

The *Kalich* dataset contains a total of 78 separate units that I worked with. The category of enemies includes 31 texts, the categories of role models and politics 15 each; there were 11 texts categorised as music and six as subculture/movement.



Graph 4.
Themes covered by the *Kalich* fanzine

As can be seen, the distribution of themes differs considerably from the *Skinformátor* zine, and there are also differences within the categories. The second most relevant category, role models, includes a series of texts on historical events and leaders, mostly ones related to the Hussite movement (an article on Forefather Čech, founder of the Czech nation, in issue No. 1, is the only text not concerned with Hussitism). Like in the *Skinformátor* case, role models are identified in history, yet they are of a completely different origin. In addition to general texts on Hussite history, this category includes several articles focusing on John Hus, Jan Žižka, Jan Roháč z Dubé, and Prokop Holý, i.e., the most prominent leaders of the Hussite movement. The *Kalich* is also characterised by a series of articles on the Hussite traditions of different Czech cities.

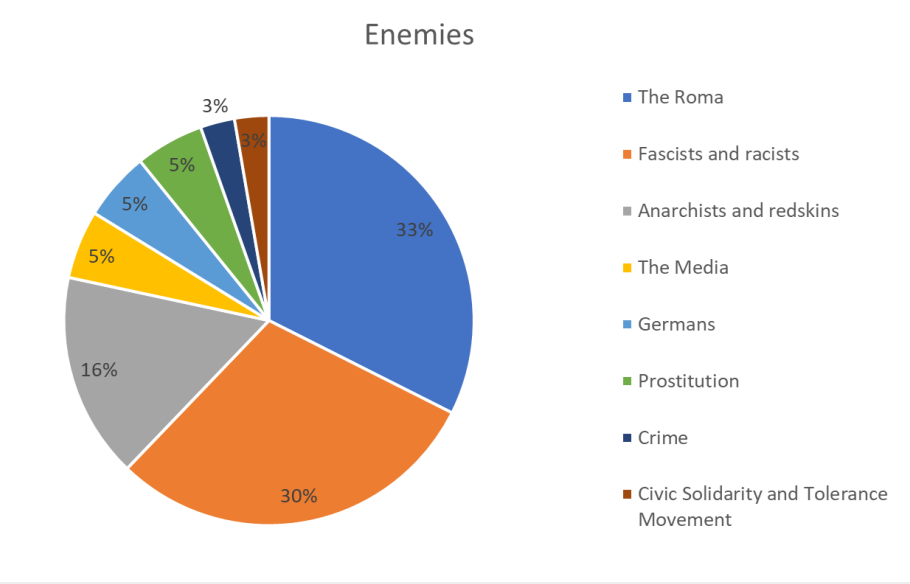
The category of politics includes several texts about past rallies and additionally a broad range of articles on topics such as Czech nationalism, celebrations of the end of WWII and a Česká liga (Czech League) leaflet with many racist passages. Numerous attacks against neo-Nazi skinheads and fascism, in general, are one of the *Kalich* trademarks. This confusion (resistance against fascism while using racism) foreshadows the internal conflicts that became fatal to the Patriot League and were a general characteristic of the early 1990s and the formation of the Czech Republic's skinhead subculture.

The category of skinhead music is much less salient in this zine than in the case of the *Skinformátor*. However, the explanation is relatively straightforward: Utraquist skinheads were not affiliated with such a wide range of bands from all over the world as the White Power Music scene. Only four bands practically appeared in the *Kalich*: Orlík, Braník, Valašská liga (The Wallachian League) and solo music of Orlík's former

singer Daniel Landa. The popular Top Ten and band charts also appeared here, like in the neo-Nazi zines, yet they were relatively poorly populated and relegated to the last pages by the editors.

In contrast to the *Skinformátor*, a relatively large body of texts is devoted to issues of the subculture itself. This, too, can be explained by the fact that Utraquist skinheads always struggled to negotiate their position within the subcultural pantheon of the 1990s Czech youth. Their skinhead appearance alienated them from punks and anarchists, while their Utraquist orientation made them race traitors in the eyes of the mainstream neo-Nazi skinheads. Moreover, the Patriot League itself sought to present itself as a political organisation resting unequivocally on Czech nationalism and, at the same time, clearly rejecting neo-Nazism. Due to the pressure produced by this combination, the zine's authors made repeated efforts to explain the history of the skinheads and draw a sharp line between neo-Nazis and Utraquists. This motif is also reflected in the shared narrative of these texts, namely that the early 1990s were marked by skinhead unity, whereas the present (i.e., the mid-1990s) was instead a time of quarrels.

This is generally also associated with the broadest category of enemies. As mentioned above, the Utraquist skinheads had an abundance of those.



Graph 5.
The structure of enemies in the *Kalich* zine

Once again, there are substantial differences from the enemies addressed by the *Skinformátor*. While the list is entirely devoid of Jewish people, it is topped by the Roma people, who were absent in the case of the *Skinformátor*. Political foes from both sides of the political spectrum combined represent the most significant part of the Utraquist skinheads' enemies – a perfect manifestation of the subcultural reality of the early 1990s Czech cities described above.

"Out-of-control Roma crime"[52] is the primary reason for *Kalich's* authors' grudge against the Roma population. At the same time, they reproduce the traditional racist clichés[53] of low IQ and incestuous relationships. However, the solution is not *"...apartheid but to make laws apply to everyone and protect everyone"*.[54]

Their criticism of political enemies differs by political orientation. The neo-Nazis and fascists are criticised primarily for following an ideology that previously led to the occupation of Czechia and executions of Czech patriots; the German origin of the ideology is also emphasised in some instances. Secondarily, neo-Nazis are blamed for undermining the unity of nationalist skinheads. Anarchists and redskins are mainly criticised for their affiliation with the far left. Across the board, neo-Nazi skinheads, redskins and anarchists are depicted as fools that do not know the history or are under the influence of drugs (anarchists).

In contrast, criticism of the media is consistent with the *Skinformátor*. The *Kalich* blames them for lying and mistaking the Utraquists for neo-Nazis.[55] The authors argue that this is because the journalists in question worked in the media before 1989, and as such, they were formed by their communist experience.

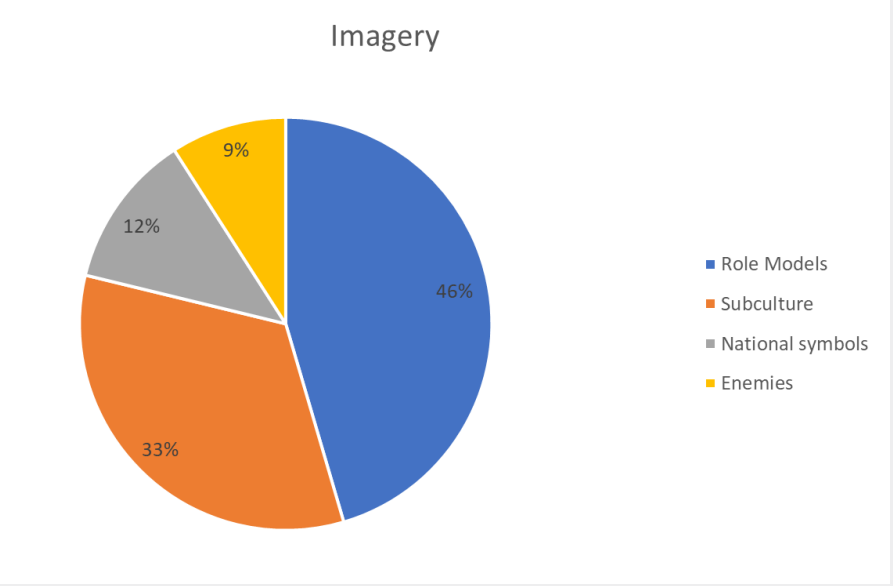
In the tradition of Orlík-like anti-German chauvinism, there are attacks against Germans that emphasise their perceived role as a *"fifth column"*[56] and their historical responsibility for unleashing the Second World War.

Prostitution and crime are criticised as sources of increased security concerns. A specific enemy, the human rights organisation HOST (Civic Solidarity and Tolerance Movement), was targeted by the Utraquists due to the Patriot League's lawsuit against it. This criticism focused primarily on the HOST's failure to distinguish between Utraquist and neo-Nazi skinheads.

In the case of the *Kalich*, too, the graphic layout is the last thematic category. The fanzine's imagery is again relatively essential and there is a large number of pictures in the publication.

As the graph reveals, role models represent the critical category of imagery, consisting of numerous Hussite-themed depictions. Combinations of Hussite symbols and the Celtic cross are no exception. Despite being a far-right symbol, the Celtic cross is characteristic of the Utraquist skinheads. In the absence of explicit mention in the fanzine, one can assume that the Celtic cross was perceived as a universal skinhead symbol, not a symbolic replacement of the swastika as neo-Nazi skinheads used it. In the Czech context, this symbol was popularised by Orlík, which was viewed as an Utraquist band.

52 Násilí kolem nás. In *Kalich*, No. 1, p. 14.
53 Démonizace. In *Kalich*, No. 2, p. 14.
54 Romská kriminalita. In *Kalich*, No. 4, p. 4.
55 Televize – oči národa. In *Kalich*, No. 3, p. 5.
56 Čeští vlastenci. In *Kalich*, No. 4, p. 21.



Graph 6.
Imagery of the zine *Kalich*

The subcultural imagery includes both photographs from concerts and drawings of skinheads. Like in the *Skinformátor*, there is a general absence of female figures, and the overall imagery is highly masculine, albeit to a lesser extent than in the *Skinformátor* case.

National symbols come as a little surprise, as they indeed can be expected of an Utraquist fanzine. Depictions of enemies mostly take the form of photographs attached to texts on political opponents. The *Skinformátor's* usual racist caricatures are absent.

Conclusion

What exactly did the analysis of both fanzines reveal? While some aspects are relatively predictable, others appear as somewhat surprising. Let us start with the predictable ones. It is hardly perplexing that White Power Music is a crucial component of a neo-Nazi fanzine to the extent that an Utraquist fanzine cannot match. The explanation is obvious. The Utraquist scene was not integrated with the international White Power scene, and as such, it necessarily treated music as a marginal affair. Relatedly, the *Skinformátor* placed a much stronger emphasis on social networking and the ensuing accumulation of subcultural capital. This aspect perhaps suggested the neo-Nazis' outward orientation, their ambition to connect their activities to other likeminded groups and build a broad, international movement. At the same time, the Utraquists were typically inward-looking in terms of both their scene and their own country. The accent on Czech history is formidable in the *Kalich* and utterly absent in the *Skinformátor*. Given the local origin of Utraquist skinheads and their emphasis on Czech traditions, one might assume that this part of the subculture was destined for prosperity, yet the exact opposite was the case.

There is an exciting difference in historic focus between both fanzines. Each of them relates to history in its way – and relates to a different history. Whereas the *Kalich* paid extensive attention to the Hussite traditions of Czech cities and another key

theme, the historical figures of the Hussite movement, the *Skinformátor* aimed at Germanic mythology as well as Wehrmacht soldiers. The *Skinformátor* practically openly admitted that its historical tradition was in no way related to Czech history – or mostly to history at all. The fact that its critical texts in the category of role models referred to imaginary figures of the Viking pantheon helps us realise that rather than upon history, its view was centred on mythological fantasy, one which bolstered the cult of heroes that had been so popular in historic Nazism already.

Furthermore, allow me one last note on history. It again comes as a little surprise that the *Skinformátor* did not publish any in-depth text on the history of the skinhead subculture itself, while several such articles can be found in the *Kalich*. Neo-Nazi skinheads found the links between the early skinhead subculture and black music to be highly problematic and avoided them, although they were aware of them (for example, the zine *Hubert*, mentioned above, wrote about the role of ska and reggae at the roots of the skinheads). The tradition they related to did not date back to 1969 but, metaphorically speaking, to 1988. My point here is that the historical origins of the subculture were irrelevant to Czech neo-Nazi skinheads because, in their eyes, it was their experience of the late 1980s and early 1990s skinhead scene, with its utterly racist and often neo-Nazi orientation, that counted as actual (real) history. Most Czech White Power bands took a similar position on the subculture's history.[57] In contrast, the particular experience of the Utraquist skinheads was derived from their history of negotiating one's position in clear distinction from the neo-Nazis. As a result, they paid much more attention to subcultural history and also attempted to reproduce it on the pages of their fanzine.

The *Skinformátor* elaborated subcultural themes to a much lesser extent. By the mid-1990s, the racist skinhead subculture seemed to be relatively clearly established, and there was no more need for lengthy explanations of who is a proper skinhead or what he should look like. The new fundamental question was how a proper National Socialist should behave. Moreover, the zine's authors made it relatively clear that the "Endsieg" of the white race was the key imperative. It was against this goal that one's actions were to be measured. No such imperative can be found in the *Kalich*, despite the presence of political attitudes. Those are, however, aimed at the conservative defence of nationalism and "law and order," not a vision of a "white (or any other) revolution".

Some aspects of the enemy theme addressed by both fanzines are also somewhat predictable. The media, typically represented by the duo of TV Nova and the *Blesk* daily, were considered enemies by both fanzines as they symbolised the "tabloid" nature of the media universe. This is a traditional part of the repertoire of skinhead subcultures irrespective of political affiliation. It is similarly unsurprising that the police are absent from the *Kalich's* list of enemies. Hatred for the police would have damaged the reputation of the Utraquists, led by the Patriot League, as they tried to present themselves as an acceptable political alternative.

57 CHARVÁT 2018.

Moreover, as expected, the Utraquist fanzine did not mention antisemitic issues while the neo-Nazi one did – albeit the *Skinformátor's* candour in this regard may be eye-opening. In contrast, it comes as a relatively big surprise that the traditional (and predictable) hatred for the Roma community was absent from the *Skinformátor*, yet it dominated the Utraquists' category of racially defined enemies. This may be because of the belief, as presented in the *Skinformátor* itself, that Jews are the real root of all evil, and they are merely using every other minority. Albeit the declared grudge against the Vietnamese somewhat contradicts this view, this can be explained, as suggested explicitly in the text, as a grudge against racial mixing. The same aspect cannot be found in the Utraquist zine, which explicitly states that problems with the Roma should be solved by strict compliance with the law.

Both fanzines agree that drugs are one of the problems of modern society and youth in particular – along with foreign influences. They differ only insofar as the Skinformátor presents the U.S. as the greatest source of problems, while for the Utraquists it is Germany.

Thus, the two fanzines represent two different faces of the Czech subcultural far right. The *Skinformátor* represents a kind of open neo-Nazism that only adopts such aspects of the skinhead subculture that it needs, primarily the masculine paramilitary appearance, and infuses it with mostly political contents oriented towards the envisioned revolution. In contrast, the Utraquists represent a more conservative and less revolutionary element that aims at law and order. I believe that both cases are relevant representatives of their respective categories, and an analysis of other fanzines of the neo-Nazi or Utraquist orientations would yield similar results. To sum up my account, I have observed a confident and ambitious neo-Nazi movement rooted in the international White Power scene and relying on a quasi-religious symbolism with a clear view to waging a "racial holy war", vis-a-vis the defensive Utraquists with their narrow orientation on domestic history, balancing between political enemies and pampering their idols, led by Daniel Landa.

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The Role of Fanzines in the (Re)production of Subcultural Capital. The Authenticity, Taste and Performance of "Coolness" in the Zines of the Subculture of Czech White Power Skinheads in the 1990s*

Vendula Prokůpková

Abstract

PROKŮPKOVÁ, Vendula: The Role of Fanzines in the (Re)production of Subcultural Capital. The Authenticity, Taste and Performance of "Coolness" in the Zines of the Subculture of Czech White Power Skinheads in the 1990s.

Taking a specific case of the subculture of the Czech "White Power skinheads" in the 1990s, this paper engages with the role of zines, zine-makers and other contributors (such as readers whose letters to the editors were published, or interviewees) in the (re)production of subcultural capital and the formation and reproduction of alternative hierarchies in the subcultural field. The author approaches zine-making as one of the fields of subcultural action within which inner hierarchies, as well as frontiers between "us" (the "true" skinheads) and "them", were established as a result of articulatory practices. Based on the sample analysis of 80 Czech-language skinhead zines from the period 1992 – 1999, the author presents three alternative angles for approaching the concept of subcultural capital in zine analysis. The first approach presented focuses on claims on authenticity and the articulation of subcultural belonging. The author explores how the skinhead identity was articulated in fanzines in opposition to the antagonistic "other" substantiated by "inauthentic" skinheads, enemy subcultures and other "despicable" groups. The second example engages with the role of fanzine-makers and other contributors to zine content in moulding the shared knowledge of likes and dislikes. The author focuses on the White Power music scene that White Power skinheads were involved in and engages with the practices of shaping what was considered as "good" style and "good taste" in music. The third approach presented deals with zine-making as a valued set of skills and practices and the utilisation of the zine-platform for boosting the inner status of the individuals involved. The author explores how subculturists performed their "coolness" and "hipness" by exposing their photos, skills and stories to the broad skinhead-zine readerships.

Keywords: fanzine, subcultural capital, skinheads, right-wing subcultures, Czech Republic

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In 1995, American sociologist Sarah Thornton published a ground-breaking study of British club and rave cultures.[1] The contribution of her work rests in two main aspects. First, Thornton questioned the understanding of a subculture as a form of resistance against the hegemony of the ruling class, as advocated by the theoreticians of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). Second, she introduced the concept of subcultural capital, which enables an explanation of the mechanisms of forming alternative hierarchies within subcultures and young taste cultures.[2]

* This study was supported by the Charles University Research Programme "Progress" Q18 – Social Sciences: From Multidisciplinarity to Interdisciplinarity.

1 THORNTON, Sarah. *Club Cultures. Music, Media and Subcultural Capital.* Oxford : Polity Press; Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1995.

2 Sarah Thornton defines taste cultures as crowds of people, who *"congregate on the basis of their shared taste*

Today, subcultural capital presents one of the key concepts in contemporary subcultural studies.[3] Since the first edition of *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*, the concept has been employed in a significant number of studies published in this field.[4] The author of this manuscript employs the concept of subcultural capital in one particular area of subcultural research, the study of fanzines.

Using the specific case of the subculture of Czech "White Power skinheads"[5] in the 1990s, this paper engages with the role of zines, zine-makers and other contributors (such as readers whose letters to the editors were published, or interviewees) in the (re)production of subcultural capital and the formation and reproduction of alternative hierarchies in the subcultural field.[6] The author approaches

in music, their consumption of common media and their preference for people with similar tastes to themselves". THORNTON 1995, p. 3. Club cultures are taste culture; taking part in club cultures involves socialisation into the shared knowledge of likes and dislikes, meanings and values. Thornton dismisses the understanding of the subculture as a form of working-class resistance against the bourgeoisie social forces as was taken up by the theoretical tradition of the CSSS. In her understanding, the defining attribute of a subculture lies in the consciousness of "difference", in a distinction between a particular social group/culture, and the broader (dominant) culture, THORNTON 1995, p. 5.

3 BARKER, Chris. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. 4th ed. London : SAGE, 2012; BERZANO, Luigi – GENOVA, Carlo. *Lifestyles and Subcultures: History and a New Perspective*. New York : Routledge, 2015; HAENFLER, Ross. *Subcultures: The Basics*. London : Routledge, 2014.

4 JENSEN, Sune Q. Rethinking Subcultural Capital. In *YOUNG*, 2006, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 257-276, https://doi.org/10.1177/1103308806065820; MOORE, Ryan. Alternative to What? Subcultural Capital and the Commercialisation of a Music Scene. In *Deviant Behaviour*, 2005, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 229-252, DOI: 10.1080/01639620590905618; BRILL, Dunja. Gender, Status and Subcultural Capital in the Goth Scene. In HODKINSON, Paul – DEICKE, Wolfgang (eds.) *Youth Cultures. Scenes, Subcultures and Tribes*. New York : Routledge, 2007, pp. 111-128; LEONARD, Madeleine. Social and Subcultural Capital among Teenagers in Northern Ireland. In *Youth & Society*, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 224-244, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0044118X08314243.

5 The term "White Power skinheads" denotes the far-right offshoot of the skinhead subculture (for more information about the history of skinhead movement, see below). However, it is a term used by social scientists rather than the self-description of the subculture itself. The author of this text uses the category of "White Power Skinheads" as a synonym and aggregate term for white supremacy, neo-Nazi, and neo-fascist skinheads.

6 The subculture/movement of the White Power skinheads (in the Czech context also referred as "NS-skinheads", "fascho skinheads") in the Czech Republic has been the object of numerous studies across the field of social sciences and humanities. The topic has been elaborated by scholars in publications on political extremism (e.g. BARŠA, Pavel – FIALA, Petr (eds.) *Politický extremismus a radikalismus v České republice.* Brno : Masarykova univerzita, 1998; MAREŠ, Miroslav. *Pravicový extremismus a radikalismus v ČR.* Brno : Barrister & Principal, 2003; CHARVÁT, Jan. *Současný politický extremismus a radikalismus.* Praha : Portál, 2007), and has been an object of criminological research provided by IKSP – Institut pro kriminologii a sociální prevenci: *Extremismus mládeže v České republice.* Praha : IKSP, 1996; MAREŠOVÁ, Alena (ed.) *Kriminologické a právní aspekty extremismu.* Praha : IKSP, 1999). Besides that, there are studies in sociology, history, anthropology and other disciplines engaged with this topic, e.g. SMOLÍK, Josef. *Subkultury mládeže: uvedení do problematiky*. Praha : Grada, 2010; DANIEL, Ondřej. Kánon a alibi: anticiganismus postsocialistických subkultur. In *Slovo a smysl. Časopis pro mezioborová bohemistická studia*, 2013, Vol. 10, No. 20, pp. 260-271; NOVOTNÁ, Hedvika – HEŘMANSKÝ, Martin. Shared Enemies, Shared Friends: The Relational Character of Subcultural Ideology in the Case of Czech Punks and Skinheads. In THE SUBCULTURE NETWORK (eds.) *Fight back: Punk, Politics and Resistance.* Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2015, pp. 170-186; DANIEL, Ondřej. *Násilím proti "novému biedermeieru": subkultury a většinová společnost pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu.* Příbram : Pistorius & Olšanská, 2016; POLÁK, Michal. "Věšme židy, komouše!" Sympatie k fašismu u mládeže v pozdním socialismu. In DANIEL, Ondřej (ed.) *Kultura svépomocí: ekonomické a politické rozměry v českém subkulturním prostředí pozdního státního socialismu a postsocialismu.* Praha : Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta, 2017, pp. 70-84; CHARVÁT, Jan. Boots, Braces and Baseball Bats: Right-wing Skinheads in the Czech Republic (1985 – 2015). In GUERRA, Paula – MOREIRA, Tania (eds.) *Keep it Simple, Make it Fast! An Approach to Underground Music Scenes (vol. 3).* Porto : Universidade do Porto, Faculdade de Letras, 2017, pp. 39-48; CHARVÁT, Jan. Skinheads: permanentní souboj o jméno. In CHARVÁT, Jan – KUŘÍK, Bob (eds.) *Mikrofon je naše bomba. Politika a hudební subkultury mládeže v postsocialistickém Česku.* Praha : Togga, 2018, pp. 61-110; SMOLÍK, Josef – NOVÁK, Petr. Roots of the Czechoslovak Skinheads: Development, Trends and Politics. In *Human Affairs*, 2019, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 157-173, https://doi.org/10.1515/humaff-2019-0013; CHARVÁT, Jan. The Role and Importance of White Power Music in Shaping the Far Right in the Czech Republic. In BLÜML, Jan – KAJANOVÁ, Yvetta – RÜDIGER, Ritter (eds.) Popular Music in Communist and Post-Communist Europe. Berlin : Peter Lang, 2019, pp. 241-251; PROKŮPKOVÁ, Vendula. The Limits of Tolerance for Intolerance. Young Democracy and Skinhead Violence in Czechia in the 1990s. In *Europe-Asia Studies* (in press). Further,

zine-making as one of the fields of subcultural action within which inner hierarchies inside the subculture, as well as frontiers between "us" (the "true" skinheads) and "them" (the "inauthentic" outsiders), were established as a result of discursive (articulatory) practices.

Since the ideologies of Czech far-right subcultures have already been the subject of several earlier studies,[7] the focus of this manuscript is more on the questions of style, taste and authenticity than on their political demands and extreme-right ideology. The aim of this paper is not to provide an elaborate list of possible operationalisation of the theory of subcultural capital in zine-research. Nor does it aim to formulate a comprehensive theory of the zine-making practices in the structuring of a subcultural field. Departing from the analysis of 1990s White Power skinhead fanzines, the author aims to suggest exemplary ways of approaching subcultural capital in the study of fanzines.

The structure of the text proceeds as follows: First, the selection of the case of the White Power skinheads will be explained and the data and methods presented. Second, the author provides a brief introduction to the theory of three forms of capital by Pierre Bourdieu and the related theory of subcultural capital by Sarah Thornton. The following part is a brief introduction to the early history of the racist branch of skinheads in the Czech Republic. The introduction of the analytical part of the manuscript focuses on the question of authenticity. The author deals with the question of how subcultural belonging was articulated through the delimitation of authentic/inauthentic in the texts published in the 1990s White Power skinhead fanzines. The second exemplary analysis engages with the role of fanzine-makers and other contributors to zine contents in moulding the shared knowledge of likes and dislikes. The author focuses on the White Power music scenes that far-right skinheads were involved in and concentrates on the practices of shaping shared knowledge on what was considered as "having good taste" in music, fashion etc. The final part engages with zine-making as a valued set of skills and practices aiming to utilise the zine-platform for boosting the inner-status of the individuals involved. The author explores how subculturists performed their "hipness" and "coolness" by presenting their photos, skills and stories to the broad skinhead-zine readerships.

Case selection, data and methods

Focusing on the case of the Czech White Power skinheads zines was motivated by several factors: First was the extent of the material available in the Český a slovenský Archiv subkultur archive.[8] Second was the significance of zine-making in this selected subcultural field. One of the features of the White Power skins subculture was its decentralisation. From the late 1980s and early 1990s, local scenes

a popular history book by former skinhead Filip Vávra provides a thorough, albeit non-academic, insight into the history and lifestyle of the first generations of Czech skinheads, VÁVRA, Filip. *Těžký boty to vyřešej hned! Skinheads v Praze na konci 80. a začátku 90. let*. Praha : FIVA, 2017.

7 MAREŠ 2003; CHARVÁT 2017; NOVOTNÁ – HEŘMANSKÝ 2015; CHARVÁT 2018.

8 The collection of the extreme-right zines available in the archive was provided by Jan Charvát, Faculty of Social Science, Charles University, and Miroslav Michela, Faculty of Arts, Charles University.

formed in county towns and even small municipalities. Zines, which were marketed at concert venues or distributed through a network of P.O. Boxes,[9] presented a medium consumed by skinheads across the regions. At the time, online communication was in its infancy, so printed zines presented one of the most important means of communication inside the subculture. With up to several hundred copies for each issue,[10] zines played an essential role in the shaping and reproduction of the subcultural sense of the collective "we". They carried articulations of skinhead-inherent norms, values and ideas as well as antagonistic divisions of who belongs to "us" and who does not.

The corpus for the analysis comprised 80 fanzines of Czech White Power skinheads published between 1992 – 1999. Besides the fanzines, the author used police and security reports and daily press and journals as additional sources of data. The author analysed the data using the method of qualitative coding.[11] First, the author coded the literary genre and thematic content of each zine by creating descriptive codes, and then, during the second round of coding, axial codes were created.

Cultural capital, social capital and subcultural capital

In the 1980s, French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu introduced his novel concept of three basic forms of capital.[12] In doing so, he proposed an alternative to the traditional Marxist notion of class as a system of property rights and presented a more complex way of understanding class allegiance, taking account different forms of exchange. Bourdieu suggested that understanding the position of actors in the social space was based not only on their economic capital (possession of financial resources and property immediately convertible into money) but also on their cultural knowledge (cultural capital) and social capital, consisting of social resources.[13]

In Bourdieu's understanding, cultural capital denotes a type of cultural knowledge which is acquired by education and upbringing. Cultural capital is closely related to taste and style preferences. It may acquire various forms and can also be embodied in the form of habitus.[14] A typical example of embodied cultural capital is slang and manners. Cultural capital can also be institutionalised in the form of educational or academic qualifications or objectified in the form of various cultural goods, such as books, pictures, musical instruments or electronic devices. Cultural capital

9 In the early 1990s, it was also common for zine-makers initially to use their residence address as the contact address of the zine.

10 An edition of the zine *Der Stürmer* was 300 copies, and for the zines *Patriot* and *The Hammer News* 500 copies each; Extremismus mládeže 1996, p. 30.

11 STRÜBING, Jörg. Grounded Theory und Theoretical Sampling. In BAUR, Nina – BLASIUS, Jörg (eds.) *Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Wiesbaden : Springler VS, 2014, pp. 465-469.

12 BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1984; BOURDIEU, Pierre. The Forms of Capital. In RICHARDSON, John G. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education.* New York : Greenwood Publishing Group, 1986, pp. 241-258.

13 ANHEIER, Helmut K. – GERHARDS, Jürgen – ROMO, Frank P. Forms of Capital and Social Structure in Cultural Fields: Examining Bourdieu's Social Topography. In *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1995, Vol. 100, No. 4., p. 860.

14 Habitus denotes *"a system of schemes of perception and appreciation of practices, cognitive and evaluative structures which are acquired through the lasting experience of a social position. Habitus is both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices."* BOURDIEU, Pierre. Social Space and Symbolic Power. In *Sociological Theory*, 1989, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 14-25.

is distinctive from economic capital, albeit possession of the valuable property and high income may correlate with high levels of cultural capital.[15]

The third basic form of capital – social capital – is made up of formal and informal relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. In other words, social capital is based on "whom I know" and "who knows me" and what kind of benefits and obligation our connection generates.[16] According to Bourdieu, the volume of the social capital depends on two variables: the size of the network of connections one can effectively mobilise and the volume of the various forms of capital possessed by the individual actors involved in the network. Social capital may be, under certain conditions, convertible into economic capital (such as expedient contracts, job proposals), and it can also be institutionalised in forms of titles of nobility.[17]

In Bourdieu's understanding, the character of all capitals is arbitrary. Their value is not inherent but relies on a societal recognition as a legitimate form of exchange.[18] The legitimised or recognised form of capital is called symbolic capital.[19] Despite its broad applicability, Pierre Bourdieu's typology of three basic forms of capital does not present a comprehensive list of the varieties of exchange based on which the unequal distribution of power and recognition in each social field can be sufficiently explained. In his theory of capital, Bourdieu indicates the existence of various forms of exchange; however, their concrete form varies depending on the social and historical context.[20]

As sociologist Sarah Thornton pointed out, one of the areas where the notion of cultural capital does not provide sufficient explanatory value is youth taste cultures and subcultures.[21] In a subcultural environment, such as skinheads or punks, good manners and academic title will not necessarily guarantee good standing inside the subcultural hierarchy. Likewise, classical dancing skills or the possession of paintings might not be appreciated in the rave scene or other alternative taste cultures. In her study on the British club and rave scenes at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, Thornton introduced the concept of subcultural capital. Thornton was interested in the cultural mechanism that allows a person involved in a subculture to be recognised as "cool"[22] and "hip"[23] and thus determines her or his standing within the subcultural hierarchy. Subcultural capital comprises specific knowledge, skills, patterns of "proper" conduct, tastes or belongings which *"confer the status of its owner in the eyes of the relevant beholder"*.[24] Subcultural capital as

15 BOURDIEU 1989, pp. 17-21.

16 BOURDIEU 1989, pp. 21-24.

17 BOURDIEU 1989, pp. 21-22.

18 LAWLER, Steph. Symbolic capital. In SOUTHERTON, Dale (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*. Thousand Oaks : SAGE Publications, 2011, p. 1418.

19 BOURDIEU 1989, p. 17.

20 RŮŽIČKA, Michal – VAŠÁT, Petr. Základní koncepty Pierra Bourdieu: pole – kapitál – habitus. In *Antropowebzin*, 2011, No. 2, p. 130.

21 THORNTON 1995; THORNTON, Sarah. The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital [1995]. In GELDER, Ken (ed.) *The Subcultures Reader*. 2nd ed. London : Routledge, 2005.

22 Being "cool" denotes being "authentic" and genuine. "Cool" is someone who does not to exaggerate or is dependent on the meaning of others; cf. MOORE 2005.

23 Being "cool" and "be in the know"; cf. THORNTON 1995.

24 THORNTON 1995, p. 11.

a form of symbolic exchange comprises elements, based on which the subculture distinguishes itself from the outside world, and the insider status of each individual involved is defined.[25]

Unlike cultural capital, subcultural capital does not necessarily relate to the concept of class. In her study of the British rave and club scenes, Thornton documents that an oversimplified division between the working class and the middle class became insufficient for understanding the structuring of these fields. Club cultures cannot be simplified as cultures of deprived working-class youth, and class allegiance does not necessarily influence one's position inside the inner hierarchy, as e.g. gender or age does. According to Thornton: *"Subcultural capital is the linchpin of an alternative hierarchy in which axes of age, gender, sexuality and race are all employed in order to keep the determinations of class, income and occupation at bay."*[26]

Subcultural capital is produced through struggles between groups or individuals involved in the subculture over what should or should not be considered as "good", "attractive" or "desirable".[27] It might be both objectified in form of owning "proper clothing", recordings, fanzine collections and other subcultural goods, as well as embodied, such as in the form of proper (but not exaggerated) slang, dance style, ability to use a synthesiser or play electric guitar. In comparison to cultural capital, subcultural capital may not be as easy to convert to economic capital; however, musicians, DJs, recording shop owners, music producers or, for instance, publishers of fanzines might profit from it.[28]

The origins of the racist branch of skinheads in Czechoslovakia[29]

The emergence of the first Czechoslovakian skinheads dates back to the mid-1980s. However, their style and ideology diverged from their western counterparts. The first generation of Czechoslovakian skinheads was born in the context

25 BERZANO – GENOVA 2015, p. 147.

26 THORNTON 1995, p. 105.

27 JENSEN 2006, p. 267.

28 THORNTON 1995, pp. 11-12.

29 The origins of the skinhead subculture date back to 1960s Great Britain. The roots of skinheads can be traced back to other working-class subcultures, the British mods and the terrace football hooligans, the boot boys, MARSHALL, George. *Spirit of '69: A Skinhead Bible.* 2nd ed. Dunoon : S.T. Publishing, 1994. The first skinheads had no original music style; they listened to American soul or Jamaican Ska. Through music and dancehalls, they stand in a close relationship to the rude boys' gangs from the West Indian Communities, from whom they also borrowed elements of their early style. With the arrival of glam rock, at the beginning of the 1970s, the ranks of skinheads significantly decreased; however, in the late 1970s the subculture experienced a new boom, HEBDIGE, Dick. *Subculture: the Meaning of Style.* New York : Routledge, 1991; MARSHALL 1994. The second generation of skinheads brought several significant changes. First of all, it was the progressive politicisation of the subculture, resulting in a crisis of its identity and split of the subculture into several feuding branches. By the early 1980s, in a context of economic downturn and increased immigration from Third World countries to the United Kingdom, a significant proportion of British skinheads became affiliated with the extreme right National Front and the British Movement, BROWN, Timothy S. Subcultures, Pop Music and Politics: Skinheads and "Nazi Rock" in England and Germany. In *Journal of Social History*, 2004, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 157-178; COTTER, John M. Sounds of Hate: White Power Rock and Roll and the Neo-Nazi Skinhead Subculture. In *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 1999, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 111-140. However, at the same time, many skinheads resisted the subcultural heading towards the extreme right. Following Brown, the efforts inside the subculture trying to reclaim the skinhead identity from the extreme right have been based on two primary strategies: the first emphasizing the multicultural roots of the subculture (by stressing the preferences for "black music" by the first generation of skinheads as well as their companionship with the rude boys) and the second pointing at the supposed apolitical origin of the subculture, by stressing the aesthetic dimensions of the style as well as the "skinhead way of life", BROWN 2004, p. 170.

of the repressive character of the real-socialist regime. It was shaped by the limited access to the Western markets and restricted information exchange with the West. Rather than be copied or assumed, the idea of proper "skinheadhood" was reconstructed from the scarce and often biased information from the communist party-controlled media, foreign broadcast or smuggled-in LPs and magazines.[30] Despite the fact that in Western countries there was a mutual animosity between skinheads and the "chaotic" and gradually commercialised punk subculture,[31] this was not the case of Czechoslovakian skinheads and punks. Before the change of the regime in 1989, both skinheads and punks constructed their subcultural identity through the delimitation against the governing communist party and the "mainstream" substantiated by the late normalisation society.[32]

Along with the first skinheads in real-socialist Czechoslovakia, the first racist punk and Oi! Bands, such as *Hubert Macháně* and *Orlík*, also emerged.[33] Soon after the 1989 revolution, *Orlík* enjoyed fast-growing popularity. Reaching the top ten charts and with successful recordings available in commercial distribution, the band contributed to the popularisation of the skinhead style and sparked the interest of young people (predominantly young men) in the "skinhead way of life".

The emergence of new antagonisms accompanied the boom of the skinheads in the context of the young democratic regime. As a result, the subcultural identity was rearticulated. With the fall of the one-party rule of the Communist Party, both skinheads and punks lost their common enemy, the main objects of the subcultural resistance up to that point.[34] Moreover, the opening of the western border enabled subculturists to get in touch with their western fellows; they could shop for previously unavailable recordings, buy magazines and fanzines and translate them. Whereas many punks became attracted by anarchist ideas and the squatter movement,[35] most skinheads were heading towards the (far-)right.[36]

Similar to the situation in the new states in Germany, where the racist branch of the skinheads predominated,[37] the first generations of the post-Velvet skinheads were linked to hate-motivated violence, racism, xenophobia and aggressive nationalism and even the misuse of extremist symbols and National Socialist (NS) and fascist ideologies.[38] At the beginning of the 1990s, anti-racist and non-political skinheads still represented only a minor stream.[39]

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30 PROKŮPKOVÁ (in press).

31 For instance MARSHALL 1994, pp. 67n.

32 HEŘMANSKÝ – NOVOTNÁ 2015.

33 For instance POLÁK 2017, pp. 83-84.

34 PROKŮPKOVÁ (in press).

35 HEŘMANSKÝ – NOVOTNÁ 2015; PIXOVÁ, Michaela. Český punk za oponou i před oponou. In KOLÁŘOVÁ, Marta (ed.) *Revolta stylem. Hudební subkultury mládeže v České republice.* Praha : Sociologické nakladatelství & Sociologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i., 2011, pp. 45-82.

36 MAREŠ 2003; CHARVÁT 2007; DANIEL 2016; CHARVÁT 2018.

37 BOTSCH, Gideon. From Skinhead-Subculture to Radical Right Movement: The Development of a "National Opposition" in East Germany. In *Contemporary European History*, 2012, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 553-573.

38 Extremismus mládeže 1996; MAREŠ 2003; DANIEL 2016; CHARVÁT 2017.

39 CHARVÁT 2017.

According to political scientist Miroslav Mareš, the boom of the skinhead movement slacked off around 1992.[40] Many of those who remained active started to engage in political parties or various extreme-right organisations. Part of the skinheads moved their activities underground and became active in militant neo-Nazi groups. From that time on, at the latest, skinhead subculture began to intersect with political movement.[41]

During the first years after the Velvet Revolution, the racist branch of the skinheads divided into two main feuding streams: the racist-patriotic branch called Kališníci (the Utraquists) and the White Power skinheads, oriented towards neo-fascism and neo-Nazism. The roots of the Utraquist branch can be traced back to the band *Orlík* and the first generation of Czech skinheads, who were not influenced by the ideology of white supremacy[42] promoted by the British band *Skrewdriver*[43] or extreme right skinhead organisations in Western Europe.[44] The Utraquists used the symbol of the calix as an emblem of movement allegiance. The calix referred to the historical Hussitism movement from the 15th century, which since the 19th century has appeared as one of the main symbols of Czech national resistance in Czech nationalist discourses. For the Utraquists, the calix denoted *"pure patriotism, free from Nazi symbols and ideologies"*.[45]

The "Utraquist" branch organised itself around the new organisation Vlastenecká liga (Patriot League), which was founded in 1993.[46] The neo-Nazi and neo-fascist branch of the skinhead movement was represented by numerous organisations, such as Vlastenecká fronta (Patriot front, established in 1993), Bohemia Hammerskins (BHS, est. 1993), Blood and Honour Division Bohemia (B&HDB, est. 1996) and many others. In the early 1990s, a specific minor subbranch of the White Power skinheads, called „Sudeťáci" (Sudetenlanders), emerged in northern Bohemia. The Sudeťáci referred themselves to the historical Sudetendeutsche Partei of Konrad Henlein and demanded the annulation of the so-called Beneš decrees. Similar to the relationship with the Utraquists, the relation between some regional groups of White Power Skinheads and the Sudeťáci was tense.[47]

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40 MAREŠ 2003, p. 413.

41 Subcultures can, as the example of the skinheads shows, intersect with social movements. Social movements can be defined as *"a form of collective action which (i) invokes solidarity, (ii) makes manifest a conflict, and (iii) entails a breach of the limits of compatibility of the system within which the action takes place"*, MELUCCI, Alberto. *Challenging Codes. Collective Action in the Information Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 28. The borders between subculture and the social movement are fluid; one of the main differences between a subculture and social movement is the relation to the existing social order. Whereas most subcultural actions are directed towards their own group, social movement focus their actions on policy and/or political change, PIOTROWSKI, Grzegorz. Social Movement or Subculture? Alterglobalists in Central and Eastern Europe. In *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements*, 2013, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 411.

42 The adherents of this ideology believe that white people are superior to other races and should dominate over them in all aspects of social life.

43 Skrewdriver was initially a punk-rock, later a White Power music band, which became a figurehead in the Rock Against Communism campaign initiated in 1979 by the Young National Front. The frontman of the band was Ian Stuart Donaldson (1958 – 1993). He and his band are regarded as being responsible for inventing White Power music and using it to construct an informal international skinhead network, COTTER 1999, p. 118.

44 MAREŠ 2003, pp. 413-414; CHARVÁT 2017, p. 87.

45 Co nevíte o skinheadech. In *Kalich*, 1994, No. 3, p. 11.

46 Zrádná organizace – V. L. In *Národní boj*, s. d., No. 2, p. 29.

47 PROKŮPKOVÁ (in press).

(White Power) skins, "fashion skins", Utraquists and claims on their authenticity

Back in the 1980s, it was neither the bomber jacket nor shaved head that caused the first Czechoslovakian skinhead to emerge. Thus, as the revolt could not exist without the "norm" and "order", and the "underground" without the "mainstream", there could have been no skinhead without the presence of the "others", without the dull greyness of late normalisation society. After 1989, it was the "others" comprising a broad chain of enemy identities, such as punks, anarchists, S.H.A.R.P.s, junkies, the Romani minority and/or civil right activists, against whom the identity of the "white patriotic skinhead" was constructed. With the foundation of Vlastenecká liga in 1993 and the separation of the Utraquist branch of the Czech skinhead movement, the identity of Utraquist skinheads was also articulated in the position of the "other", the enemy of the White Power skinhead.[48]

Pursuing, performing and judging what is authentic and what is not, who is "true" and who is a "poseur" stands at the core of most subcultural experiences.[49] The imagined authenticity and the supposed distance from the mainstream, other subcultures, or other "despicable" groups are what the claims to subcultural capital are based on. Thus, the distinction between the authentic and inauthentic plays a substantial part in these processes, during which an inner hierarchy (inside the subculture, within the local scenes), as well as frontiers between the "us" and "them" ("insiders" and "outsiders"), are constructed. Authenticity is claimed through the division between what is considered as "cool", real and genuine, against the lame, false and fake nature of the antagonistic "other".

The meaning of "authentic" is neither universal nor definite. The division of the authentic and inauthentic is always context-dependent and a product of articulatory practice. Whereas, for instance, in 1990 almost every skinhead proudly possessed *Orlík*'s first album, later on, the band had lost its cult status in the eyes of some. In an interview for the second issue of the skingirlzine *Freya* (approx. 1994 – 1995), musicians from the skinhead White Power band *Vlajka*, for example, stated to the prejudice of this band, that *"the only skinhead in the skinhead band Orlík was the singer, Daniel Landa".*[50]

Critical essays, reports, codes of "right conduct",[51] funny cartoons, readers' letters and/or jokes published in the 1990s skinhead fanzines carried articulations of what the "proper white patriotic skinhead" is, and what it is not. Despite some variation regarding, for example, the extensive consumption of the alcohol, which was sometimes celebrated, other times condemned as an attribute of the "poseurs", there was one particular dichotomy repeatedly occurring in the analysed

48 LACLAU, Ernesto. Subjekt politiky, politika subjektu. In LACLAU, Ernesto. *Emancipace a radikální demokracie*. Praha : Karolinum, 2013, pp. 87.

49 HAENFLER 2014, pp. 83-85.

50 Vlajka. In *Freya*, s. d., Vol. 2, p. 8.

51 The "code of honour" regulating the right conduct of the *Bohemia Hammerskins* supporters was reprinted in BHS-affiliated zines such as *The Hammer News, Patriot* or *Der Stürmer*.

corpus of the Czech White Power skinhead fanzines. This was the distinction between those (skinheads or renees[52]) who were "conscious" and truly (ideologically) committed and those who were not (such as Utraquists, "fashion skins", "pseudoskins", S.H.A.R.P.s). In the seventh issue of the White Power zine *Skinformátor* (approx. 1996), the anonymous writer appealed to the (in his eyes) disunited skinhead movement: *"The true skinhead should possess a certain scale of values he should follow, and through it to belong to the elite of our nation."*[53]

Another writer introduced in the second issue of the White Power skinhead zine *Národ* (approx. 1992) the local scene in the small town of Šumperk, where he contrasted the "good" and "loyal to ideals" group of local skinheads who fights for their ideals against the "bad renegades": *"The beginning of the* [skinhead] *movement in our city dates from the years 1988 – 1989. It was a fast-rising wave, which soon faded away. After that, new people joined in, who remained loyal to their ideals and are still active until today. Over time, some joined us; some left. These were people with a bad reputation, who did not know much about the movement. Still, the same crew have remained. A crew of people, who know what they want and still fight for their dreamt-of goals and ideals."*[54]

According to the author of the essay, recognition belonged to those who remained involved in the scene, and not those who just "came and left" with the latest fad. The commitment to the political goals and ideals of the movement was defined as a criterion of respectable standing.

In another sample extract, this one from the fourth issue of the zine White Power Skinhead zine *Nový řád* (approx. 1992/1993), skinhead Martin describes the scene in his hometown of Brno. Again, the author's delimitation against "inauthentic" skinheads who disrespect the "right" ideals or do not show enough commitment (and drink rather than get involved in political activities) is present in the text: *"Brno is a beautiful city and since 1990 another beauty has been added, the skinheads. In the beginning, these were foremost former punks and university students, but as we might expect, they left the movement very soon, which is a pity.* […] *Today, the skins have turned to the right, which is not surprising regarding the situation in our city. Some people tried to establish a great* [political] *organisation, but there are still many of those who rather fight with alcohol. There are also the so-called »pseudoskins« occurring here to a great extent, who vilify our ideals. Therefore, our fight is also directed within our own ranks."*[55]

The last example shows an extract from an interview with the White Power Band *Reichenberg* published in the first issue of the Czech neo-Nazi zine *Final Solution* (1999). *Reichenberg* answered the question of what their favourite brands were:

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52 Renee is the denomination of the skinhead girl. The subculture of the Czech White Power skinheads in the 1990s was a predominantly men; however, there was at least one skinhead girl zine at the time (*Freya*). The activists around zine *Freya* founded a Czech chapter of the international extreme right women organization Women for Aryan Unity.

53 Jsme jednotní? In *Skinformátor*, s. d., No. 7, p. 5.

54 Šumperk Skinheads. In *Národ*, s. d., No. 2, pp. 14-15.

55 Brno. In *Nový řád*, s. d., No. 4, p. 10.

"We know that fashion brands like Lonsdale, Fred Perry etc. belong to the cult of skinheads. But, the current commercialisation and advertisement force out the essence of these brands. We remember times when guys in coniferous-camouflage suits and leather jackets chased Gypsies on the streets. Their combat boots were better for kicking than any polished Dr. Marten shoe. This does not mean that we condemn this fashion, we just do not see much sense in it. Moreover, two, three winter seasons in our northern region will force you to buy a flannel shirt instead of a polo shirt."[56]

In the interviews, the *Reichenberg* members dismissed the importance of "stylish" appearance as a source of authenticity. Again, the "commitment" and "being active on the street" was stressed over style and appearance ("it doesn't matter what you wear, but what you do").

Zines(makers) as Tastemakers: Nazi-rock is more than mainstream

In parallel with the ideological shaping of the racist branch of the skinheads in the first half of the 1990s, their music preferences were refined. Just as the first hierarchic-structured militant neo-Nazi organisations started to substitute unrestrained juvenile skinhead gangs, the first skinhead racist and patriotic Oi! bands were replaced by far more radical musical projects. As former skinhead Filip Vávra (2017) documents in his biographical book, at the beginning of the 1990s it was still not exceptional for skinheads and punks to attend the same music events with Oi! and punk music.[57] However, the subcultural life of the White Power skinheads soon became centred on their own White Power music scene(s).

During the 1990s, tens of new White Power bands emerged in the Czech Republic, and some of them remained active for more than a decade.[58] Moreover, with the opening of the western border, Czech skinheads became more familiar with the production of White Power music abroad, such as with the latest releases of NS white power bands like *Störkraft* (Germany), *Skullhead* or *Skrewdriver* (both from the United Kingdom). Furthermore, foreign stars of the White Power music started to visit the Czech Republic. The 1996 security report ratified by the Czech parliament points out that the Czech Republic had become the most attended place of White Power music events in Europe.[59]

Around the mid-1990s, the biggest shows with foreign interpreters were being organised by the Bohemia Hammerskins (BHS). The BHS was established in 1993 as the alleged Czech chapter of the US-based militant neo-Nazi organisation Hammerskin nation. BHS profiled itself through allegiance to the ideolo-

56 Reichenberg. In *Final Solution*, 1999, No. 1, p. 11.

57 VÁVRA 2017, pp. 62-69.

58 To the most known Czech White Power bands from 1990s belongs *Buldok*, *Diktátor*, *Vlajka*, *Hlas Krve*, *Zášť 88*, *Valašská liga*, *Conflict 88*, *Excalibur, Agrese 95, Útok* and *Apartheid* (e.g. MAREŠ 2003, pp. 418-420; CHARVÁT 2019).

59 *Parlament České republiky, Poslanecká sněmovna. Zpráva o bezpečnostní situaci na území ČR v roce 1996 (ve srovnání s rokem 1995).* Praha : Parlament české repubiky, 1997, http://www.psp.cz/eknih/1996ps/tisky/t021100a.htm.

gy of national socialism; its programmatic core was based on the "14-word-slogan"[60] which was defined by the member of the US-based white supremacy terrorist organisation The Order, David Lane. From its very beginning, the membership and organisational structures of BHS were built in a highly conspiratorial way. The organisation set strict criteria for membership with a two- to three-year-long probationary period for applicants.[61] With incomes reaching from tens of thousands of Czech crowns for a single event, the organisation of concerts of White Power music posed one of the main sources of funding of BHS.[62] Besides that, the BHS operated as a label for selected Czech White Power music bands. One of the platforms used for the promotion of the music events was also fanzines published by BHS members and supporters.

Around 1996 the role of main promoter of concerts of White Power music was overtaken by the newly founded Blood and Honour Division Bohemia (B&HDB), which operated through several independent regional sections. During the 1996 – 1999 period, B&HDB controlled the publishing of the most important NS-skinhead music zines,[63] organised mass attended concerts and released recordings of White Power Music bands.[64] The expansion of the underground activities of the B&HDB terminated in February 1999, when in cooperation with the domestic intelligence, the police succeed in uncovering part of its structures, which temporarily paralysed the movement.[65]

Whether affiliated to BHS and B&HDB or not, the skinheads who edited, wrote or otherwise contributed to the making of zines presented a vital element of the fast-growing White Power music scene in the Czech Republic. They recommended which recordings to buy and advised on which were a waste of time to listen to. They reported on which concerts were great, whether the promotion of an event was bad and which bands play well live and which don't. They also evaluated the power of the political message communicated through the music.

The delimitation between the "good" and the "bad", what we like and dislike and, eventually, what we wish to ignore are what taste (or manifested preferences) is based on. According to Bourdieu, tastes are *"the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. It is no accident that when they have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively by the refusal of other tastes."*[66]

The comprehension of shared knowledge of likes and dislikes is one of the central preconditions of being recognised as a respected member of a subcultural scene.[67] However, as the example of the skinheads shows, the maps of meaning that subcultures share,

60 *"We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children."* Bohemia Hammer Skinheads. In *Impérium*, s. d., No. 1, p. 13.

61 Hammerskins – zákoník cti. In *The Hammer News*, s. d., No. 3, p. 3.

62 In mid-1990s, the entry reached up to 200 crowns for a single event. Events with international White Power music organized by BHS attracted 500 – 800 skinheads (e.g. Koncerty. In *Národní Boj*, 1995, No. 3., p. 23-26)

63 For instance *Blood an Honour Division Bohemia*, *Phoenix* (after 4th issue), *Nová Evropa* (after 3rd issue); MAREŠ 2003, pp. 418-420.

64 MAREŠ 2003, p. 483.

65 *Zpráva o problematice extremismu na území České republiky v roce 1999 (ve srovnání s rokem 1998).* Praha : Ministerství vnitra České republiky, https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/extremismus-vyrocni-zpravy-o-extremismu-a-strategie-boje-proti-extremismu.aspx.

66 BOURDIEU 1984, p. 56.

67 THORNTON 1995.

the collective apprehension of what "having good taste" means, is never definitive. Zine-making poses one of the fields of subcultural action, where the various articulations of what is considered as having "good taste" in music, fashion, etc., are contested. Similarly as Thornton describes the historical role of DJs as "tastemakers" or "moulders of musical opinion", zine-makers and other contributors to zines participated in the shaping of the taste preferences of the scenes they were involved in.[68]

The following example is an extract from a review of the album *Triumph* from the Czech White Power band *Buldok* published in the first issue of the zine *Blood & Honour Division Bohemia*: *"No one has ever played anything like this before. Buldok kicked the asses of all the commercial bands, fashion waves and also the critics conforming to the regime. Now, men from Rock & Pop just write about the »stupid skinhead bands« (Reflex/97),*[69] *you've probably never heard before [!]. This is the true rock resistance* […] *There is no need to write more about the lyrics; they were always a strong side of Buldok. They are just extraordinarily open."*[70]

The author of the review presented *Buldok*'s album as an absolute "must-have". The music of *Buldok* was said to stand out for its musical quality as well as the message carried in the lyrics. In contrast to mainstream rock stars, *Buldok*'s music was presented as a truly authentic sound that the mainstream/media is unable to appreciate.

Another writer described in the first issue of the White Power zine *Nový řád* (1992) a failed music event which took place on 3 July 1992 in Uherské Hradiště. The series of failures was completed by the performance of the band *N.D.R.*, which played a song borrowed from *Orlík*, a band that initially was credited for the popularisation of skinhead subculture but later did not meet the shared preferences of the far more radicalised White Power scene: *"We came around three o'clock to help with the preparation of the concert. Some enthusiasts even took a day off their job. When we arrived, they replied to our question about where the sound system was by saying that they didn't have one. They drove the sound system from Bzenec around seven o'clock. Meanwhile* [the bands] *arrived. I guess, when they saw the equipment, they probably asked themselves whether to laugh or cry.* […] *After that, the band N.D.R. with a »borrowed« drummer started to play. This band just brought shame on itself. When they played the song »Bílá liga«, they just woke up the skins, who did not know any of the other music."*[71]

Another author reviewed in the second issue of the White Power zine *Skinhead zone* the concert of White power bands that took place in Prague on 19 March 1994. On the day of the concert, Vlastenecká liga called a meeting in a remote city, so many skinheads faced the decision of whether to travel to Prague or to join the Vlastenecká Liga rally. Moreover, the show was accompanied by violent excesses of the concert visitors. The attention of the mainstream media made the concert one of the most notoriously known White Power music events in the 1990s. In the following extract from the concert report published in the second issue of *Skinhead Zone* (1994), the author praises one of the performers, inspired by the legend of the German

68 THORNTON 1995, p. 62.

69 The author of the Zine referred to an article from the Czech weekly magazine Reflex

70 Czech CD of This Issue. In *Blood & Honour Division Bohemia*, s. d., No. 1, p. 19.

71 Zpráva o koncertu v Uherském Hradišti. In *Nový řád*, 1992, No. 1, pp. 15-16.

White Power music *Störkraft*: *"ÚTOK performed as the second band in the line-up. Together with the band S.A.D., this was the greatest surprise of the evening. I was seeing them for the first time, but their fast and striking sound interested me immediately. The inspiration from Störkraft and the German OI! scene was notable here, but there was no shame in it. A great talent of the Czech White Power scene has introduced itself and, there is nothing else to do but cross our fingers for them."*[72]

As evidenced by further interviews and concert reports, the band *Útok* from Brno soon became an integral part of the Czech White Power scene. Besides the reports and reviews (of concerts, albums or zines), interviews or biographical essays present other examples of do-it-yourself (DIY) publicist genres, which carried the articulation of "good taste". Almost all the interviews with White Power musicians, zine-makers or neo-Nazi activists contained a question about favourite music and zines. The musicians were usually asked which bands influenced them most, or who their idols were in the history of the NS-movement. Sometimes questions about favourite books, movies or fashion brands were also included.

Zines as status boosters: Zine-making and the performance of "coolness" and "hipness"

Finally, fanzines present a platform where the subculturists might perform their "coolness" and "hipness". As will be further argued, fanzines can be utilised to attract publicity within the scene (in a negative or a positive sense) and to reproduce so-called celebrity capital. Celebrity capital denotes a form of symbolic exchange which rests in the recognizability resulting from media visibility and which is not reducible to symbolic capital or recognition.[73] Subculturists can use fanzines to manifest the possession of valuable contacts and transform their social capital into subcultural capital. At the very least, fanzines present one of the platforms which enables, under certain circumstances, the conversion of subcultural capital into economic capital (in terms of promotion of goods and services, etc.). At the time in question, most Czech households did not have an Internet connection, and even the slow connections in the Internet cafés and schools did not allow scans and pictures to be shared easily; thus, fanzines presented a unique platform for someone to make their name visible for the rest of the decentralised scene and to display their insider status.

Pictures from parties and concerts represented an inseparable element of the 1990s White Power skinhead zines. Photos of musicians were scanned and attached to interviews. Some early zines even contained whole pages with poor quality pictures of stylised skinheads and renees in polo-shirts, bomber jackets and Dr. Martens boots or their drunken fellows sleeping in a funny position on the table (not necessarily with a negative connotation). Some early zines contained lists of the top ten songs rated by the friends and readers, complemented by the name and photo of the reviewer. For young musicians or beginner zine-makers in particular, an interview

72 White Rock Prag. In *Skinhead Zone*, 1994, No. 2, pp. 2-6.

73 DRIESSENS, Olivier. Celebrity Capital. Redefining Celebrity Using Field Theory. In *Theoretical Sociology*, 2013, Vol. 42, No. 5, p. 351.

or review in a widely read zine could help them attract attention within the scene and propagate their music or fanzines.

The first page of many zines usually reprinted the contact address of the publisher(s) of the zine (mostly the address of a P.O. Box, earlier also the full name and the address of the publisher). In some zines, the first page was also used to send a greeting or a "thank you" to friends of the zine-maker or other contributors to the issue. An example of a thank you list, which was printed on the first page of the sixth issue of the Hammerskin zine *Fénix* (approx. 1993), contains a list of several names: *"Thank you: Bob (Nordic Thunder USA), Roland (Skinhead Fanzine), Legie Nenávisti* [band], *Karel and Hroch from Krkonoše, Peter from Kežmarok, Mário (band Diktátor), Korec siblings, Milan Kocourek from Brno, journal Dnešek."*[74]

Based on the theory of subcultural capital, there are two likely explanations for the role of the greetings and thank you notes. First, to make someone's name visible, to affirm and perform his/her insider status (she/he is a friend of the zine-makers, she/he is one who is known, and thus she/he belongs to the scene) and to eventually highlight his/her contribution to the production of the fanzine. Departing from Bourdieu's theory of social capital, we can assume that the more popular the zine or, the higher standing of the makers of the zine inside the subculture was, the more potential benefit for those whose name or nickname appeared on a greeting or a thank you lists.[75] Second, through the thank you and greeting lists, the zine-makers could display their real or alleged contacts to the people enjoying good standing and recognition inside the subculture. The greeting and salutes were devoted not only to the members of the local scenes but also to zine-makers, musicians or friends from abroad.

By manifesting the "what I know", "what I have seen and done" or "what a cool person I know", the subculturists contributing to the zines performed their "coolness" before the eyes of their readership. Reports from spectacular White Power music shows, experiences from travels abroad, heroic stories about conflicts with the police or stories of brawls with political opponents and minorities presented a further integral part of the White Power skinhead zines. The following example presents an extract from the story of a brawl between skinheads and a group of Roma in Broumov. The story of the brawl, which happened in summer 1995, was published in the third issue of the White Power skinhead zine *Imperium* (1995). The narrator heroically depicted himself and his friends: *"...20 Gypsies were waiting for us at the rail station. There were pretty armoured with meat-cleavers, machetes, knives, iron sticks, etc. Their numbers had grown very fast. When they were around 50, they dared first to attack. A friend of mine took a brick and threw it at their heads. This is how we managed to defend ourselves against their first attack. The second attack came immediately, and they threw a knife, which narrowly missed me and stabbed my friend in the thigh. He pulled the knife out of his leg, and blood started to spurt around, the knife had cut his artery. All this happened on the platform. Afterwards, we ran after the Gypsies; the friend with the cut vein lost consciousness. But because the Gypsies were still afraid of us, they didn't dare try one last attack."*[76]

74 Děkujeme/Thanks. In *Fénix*, s. d., No. 6, p. 1.

75 BOURDIEU 1989.

76 Broumov. In *Imperium*, 1995, Vol. 3, p. 15.

Finally, zine production is nevertheless a form of valued subcultural activity (requiring distinct abilities as well). Being known as an active zine-maker may impact the standing of the persons involved (see the dichotomy "active/bystander" discussed above). The concept of subcultural capital enables us to explain why subculturists engage in such time-consuming activities like the zine-making, despite the fact that no financial profit is guaranteed.[77] In other words: the making of zines is a form of subcultural activity which may pay off. If not straightforward in the form of money, then at least in the form of accumulation of subcultural capital, eventually social capital of the persons involved.

Conclusion

Using the specific case of the subculture of the Czech White Power skinheads in the 1990s, the author has suggested three alternative (but not exhaustive) angles of approaching the concept of subcultural capital in the study of fanzines. First, the zines as a field of subcultural action, in which the division between the authentic and inauthentic is articulated. Second, the role of fanzine-makers and other contributors to the zine in moulding the shared knowledge (i.e. the discourses or maps of meaning shared within the subculture) of likes and dislikes. Third: zine-making as a source of subcultural capital; zine-making as a valued set of skills and practices and the zine as a platform of performance of individual/group coolness and hipness.

The delimitation of the authentic "insider" against the inauthentic, false and lame nature of the "other" is a substantial condition for any subcultural belonging. The author approached the 1990s White Power skinhead fanzines – a medium consumed across decentralised local scenes – as one of the fields of the subcultural action, inside which inner hierarchies, as well as frontiers between "us" (the "true" skinheads) and "them", were constructed as a result of discursive (articulatory) practices. Critical essays, reports, readers' letters and interviews are examples of DIY-publication forms, which carried an articulation of who is a "white patriotic skinhead" and who is a bystander.

A qualitative analysis of the corpus consisting of 80 White Power skinhead zines from the 1992 – 1999 period points at the recurrent articulation of the "authentic" skinhead as someone who was conscious, committed to the ideals of the movement and actively pursued them (e.g. taking part in street fights against opponents or exerting activities in one of the movement organisation). The notion of authenticity was articulated as the opposite to a "mistakenly convinced", "unfaithful to ideals" and politically inactive "poseur".

Along with the ideologisation and politicisation of Czech skinheads in the first half of the 1990s, their tastes were refined. Around 1993, the first Neo-Nazi organisations emerged from the skinhead environment and the subculture/movement diverged into two feuding streams: the racist-patriotic Utraquists and the branch of the neo-fascist and neo-Nazi skinheads involved in the White Power scenes. Again, fanzine-making represented a field of subcultural action, where contesting articulations of what is considered as "having good taste" collided. Zine-makers were tastemakers, moulders of shared musical opinion. By evaluating the musical skills or

77 There were also examples of profiting zine-makers who made use of the zine-platform for commercial purposes, such as promotion of goods purchased by mail order.

lyrics, sharing own preferences and musical inspirations, fanzine-makers and other contributors to the zine content (re)articulated the subcultural knowledge of shared likes and dislikes.

Finally, zines may function as status boosters. They present a platform, which enables someone to make his or her name visible in the eyes of other members of the subculture. Through the display of knowledge, experience or possession of valuable contacts with people recognised within the subculture (such as foreign musicians), the zine-makers perform their "coolness" and "hipness". Moreover, zine-making, if it meets the expectation of a readership presents a valued subcultural activity. It is the performance of one's commitment to the subculture/movement. The set of skills and abilities needed for the production of a zine is nevertheless a source of subcultural capital. Although some skinheads may have profited financially from the publishing a zine or utilising a zine as a platform for the promotion of mail-order trade with subcultural goods, the production of fanzines did not necessarily bring a financial benefit. However, approaching zine-making as a set of skills and practices generating subcultural capital enables comprehension of it as a form of subcultural activity, which is rewarded in form of status and recognition.

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FORUM HISTORIAE

On Football Fanzines: A Communication Platform for Czech and Other European Football Fans*

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Abstract

LOMÍČEK, Jan: On Football Fanzines: A Communication Platform for Czech and Other European Football Fans.

The aim of this paper is a description of domestic football fanzine production in comparison with developments abroad. Zines from the scenes of football fans represent a key source for mapping their histories. While fanzine production is not a new topic in international critical literature, in the Czech Republic it has received only limited attention. The majority of football fanzines in the Czech Republic arose in the milieus of specific subcultural groups – football hooligans and ultras. From 1998 to 2008 the nationwide title Football Factory was the key zine surveying the scene, and it provided a kind of general communication platform for Czech football fans. In terms of their direct impact, Czech football fanzines were the products of a limited scene and a limited trend. As such, they remained quite marginal from the standpoint of overall Czech fanzine production.

Keywords: football fanzines; Czech Republic; football subcultures; football fans; hooligans; football ultras; Football Factory

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Fanzines are generally a key source for mapping the milieus of subcultures, i.e. the parallel or alternative networks that operate in relation to the majority of society or the mainstream. Zines from the scenes of collective sports fans are an integral part of this category. In this context, football fans have a central role.[1] Although active fan groups have formed around other sports, thanks to its mass appeal and almost global spread, football has been a highly specific phenomenon since the 19th century, with popularity spanning social classes and nations. As observers of the unfolding of the "great" history of an individual team, its highs and lows, internal club dynamics and the microhistories of individual matches, football fan groups have a collective memory and thus they share a wide-ranging history. This history is also shaped by the social dynamics of the conflict between the fan group and one or more opposing groups – whether this is in an official sports context when cheering for their team or in the illicit and often violent clashes that

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1 Zines from sports-related scenes are included in Stephen Duncombe's taxonomy of zines of different subcultures. See DUNCOMBE, Stephen. *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*. Bloomington; Portland : Microcosm Publishing, 2008, p. 15. Several other authors have also drawn attention to these zines, particularly as a source about specific football-related subcultures. See JARY, David – HORNE, John – BUCKE, Tom. Football Fanzines and Football Culture: a Case of Successful Cultural Contestation. In *Sociological Review*, 1991, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 581-597; MILLWARD, Peter. The Rebirth of the Football Fanzine. In *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 2008, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 299-310.

take place in the stadium stands and beyond. The vast majority of football fans never take part in football-related violence. There are few, however, who haven't heard of it or encountered it – if only from a distance in the stadium or elsewhere.

One of the most significant sources which preserve semi-official fan histories – and, thus, a view of the activities of the subcultures associated with football – is football fanzines that come out of these scenes. This study begins with a brief historical survey of these fan scenes and then highlights current knowledge about the zines created within football fan communities both in the Czech Republic and abroad. The first football fanzines originated in the cradle of the game, the United Kingdom. Since then, the fanzine phenomenon has spread across Europe. This, however, has been subject to local peculiarities often related to the fragmentation of individual national football scenes. In the Czech Republic, the majority of football fanzines arose in the milieus of specific subcultural groups – football hooligans and ultras. From 1998 to 2008, *Football Factory* was the key zine surveying the scene, and it provided a kind of general communication platform. In particular, this zine became a mediator of behind-the-scenes developments and clashes between football hooligan groups both inside and outside the stadium. It also served as an information source about the unofficial goings-on in football stadiums more generally.

This study is based on an analysis of secondary literature about football fanzines along with primary sources, i.e. football fanzines available on the Czech scene. The original series of *Football Factory* (60 issues published between 1998 and 2008) is its key source. Given the scope of this study, I have adopted a descriptive approach, since quantitative methods would have been too time-consuming. Thus, my central research task is a description of domestic football fanzine production in comparison with developments abroad. While fanzine production is not a new topic in international critical literature, in the Czech Republic it has received only limited attention.

Football and Fan Subculture Scenes

In the context of historiography, interest in the history of the sport as a social and athletic phenomenon is well-established, and the same is true of more or less active sports fans. Outside the Czech Republic, and in the English-speaking world especially, several critical publications and studies have emerged on these subjects. These include a number of critical journals dealing with sports games and related issues. The sport appears in several works by significant figures in modern sociology, who either address sport itself as a sociological phenomenon or examine it as a social field, including an assessment of particular social class preferences.[2] Football, generally the most popular sport, has been studied similarly. In terms of international and Czech historiography, many collective

2 BOURDIEU, Pierre. Sport and Social Class. In *Social Science Information*, 1978, Vol. 17, No. 6, pp. 819-840; ELIAS, Norbert – DUNNING, Eric. *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process.* Oxford : Blackwell, 1986. Examples of critical periodicals include *The International Review for the Sociology of Sport* (IRSS) and *Sociology od Sport Journal* (SSJ).

and local football histories have been compiled. Up until the early 1990s, these works mainly took the form of chronicles or memoirs;[3] however, at the beginning of the 1990s and under the influence of trends in the West, the Czech research field expanded. With this expansion of the methodological framework, the social sciences began to take on new topics. These included different social groups and subculture scenes and, again in response to developments in the West, attention gradually turned to sports fans. Many works appeared about the organisation, characteristics, age distribution and social status of sports fans.[4] Very often, these studies concerned fans on the fringes of the mainstream, i.e. groups whose behaviour was – to the general public – outlandish or even extreme.

Based on fans in the so-called "Kops" and their activities during and after matches,[5] we can briefly highlight some key phenomena about fan groups. The number of these groups and the spread of fandom itself can be broadly attributed to the relative surge in football's popularity since the second half of the 19th century as well as its subsequent professionalisation, commercialisation and media coverage. At the same time, there has been a rise in the more negative phenomena associated with the football scene. Therefore, in the late 1990s popular studies focused on corruption in the world of football and violence around the game.[6] Critical surveys of the milieus of football fans concentrated on the subculture scenes of so-called hooligans. In the former Eastern bloc countries, social scientists sought to map the development of radical football fandom, driven mainly by a shift in local football-related violence after 1989: unorganised brawls turned to pre-arranged showdowns between football hooligan gangs. A report on the negative impact of hardcore fans, which attempted to survey the problem and propose solutions for better control by mainstream society, appeared in the then Czech and Slovak Federative Republic as early as 1991.[7]

Critical publications about football fans divide the people watching the game into three or four basic groups: football spectators, football fans, football hooligans and a somewhat ill-defined group called "ultras".[8] From a general historical standpoint,

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3 For Czech football histories, see ŠÁLEK, Zdeněk. *Slavné nohy: Československtí fotbaloví reprezentanti*. Praha : Práce, 1980; S*vět devadesáti minut: z dějin československé kopané, 1-2.* Praha : Olympia, 1976, 1981; VANĚK, Karel, (ed.) *Malá encyklopedie fotbalu*. Praha : Olympia, 1984.

4 SEKOT, Aleš. *Sociologie sportu*. Brno : Masarykova univerzita, 2006; SLEPIČKA, Pavel et al. *Divácká reflexe sportu*. Praha : Karolinum, 2010; CHARVÁT, Michal. *Hostilita ve sportovním prostředí*. Brno : BMS creative, 2008.

5 The phrase "the Kops" originally referred to the place in the stadium (mostly behind the goals) where radical fans met up and later became a synonym for the entire radical fan base of a particular team. In current research, the term "radical fan" is used mainly to describe the fandom of so-called hooligans and ultras. In many cases, the extremity of these groups lies not in their cheering or violence but in their political ideologies.

6 FELT, Karel – JEŽEK, Ladislav. *Fotbal plný hříchů.* Praha : Cesty, 1995.

7 VEČERKA, Kazimír (ed.) *Jak na fotbalové výtržníky: zpráva o průzkumu negativních projevů vlajkonošů a možností jejich prevence*. Praha : Institut pro kriminologii a sociální prevenci, 1991; MAREŠ, Miroslav – SMOLÍK, Josef – SUCHÁNEK, Marek. *Fotbaloví chuligáni: evropská dimenze subkultury.* Brno: Centrum strategických studií, 2004; SMOLÍK, Josef. *Fotbalové chuligánství: historie, teorie a politizace fenoménu*. 1. vyd. Karlovy Vary : Zdeněk Plachý, 2008; KASAL, Josef. *Násilí na stadionech jako odraz kultury*. Hradec Králové : Gaudeamus, 2013.

8 MAREŠ, Miroslav – SMOLÍK, Josef – SUCHÁNEK, Marek. *Fotbaloví chuligáni: evropská dimenze subkultury.* Brno : Centrum strategických studií, 2004, pp. 10-14, 30-31. Similar and more detailed categories are described elsewhere: see, e.g. SCHOLZ, Petr. *Problematika fotbalového diváctví v České republice, aneb „Quo vaditis, fotbaloví příznivci?".* Brno : Paido, 2018, pp. 41-56.

it was primarily identification with particular sports clubs that led to the formation of the football fan scene. This often went hand in hand with identification with the local, national, religious or political affiliations of the club as well as (self-) definitions in opposition to its rivals (and later perhaps also to more "amateur" spectators). Other phenomena were also at work here, such as the occupation of public space – whether this was at home or on an opponent's turf – through the symbolism associated with the parent club. These symbols included club colours on flags or clothing accessories, club chants and later elaborate choreographies, pyrotechnics, graffiti and other elements that were adapted quite flexibly to broader social trends and developments. The forms of occupation of public spaces and clashes – both actual and symbolic– with rival groups also depended on the personal behaviour of the fans/supporters of particular clubs, which differed across groups, i.e. fans, hooligans and ultras.

The different characteristics of the individual fan groups were listed by Mareš, Smolík and Suchánek.[9] These scholars note that, among other things, the football spectator group shows low levels of stability, integration, guiding values, nationalism, xenophobia and racism, control, clubism and violence but a high degree of permeability (openness to new members) and a large population size. In contrast to the spectators, the group of common fans (slang: "the normals") shows high stability and integration of the group, medium value orientation, high manifestations of nationalism, exceptional manifestations of xenophobia and racism, a medium degree of control, a high degree of clubism, a low level of violent behaviour, medium permeability and medium quantity. The football hooligans group then shows a high degree of stability, integration and value orientation, high manifestations of nationalism, frequent manifestations of xenophobia and racism and a high degree of control and violent behaviour; however, its permeability (possibility of joining the group), abundance and clubism are low. In the case of ultras, the definition of the group remains somewhat ambiguous, since the behaviour of members oscillates between that of fans and hooligans with differences in each European national football scene. Ultras express themselves mainly through intensified displays of club affiliation and through the occupation of public space in stadiums using sophisticated means such as choreo (organised fan choreography), flags, stickers and graffiti.[10]

Although violence around larger public sports events has been a problem since antiquity, and some scholars trace its origins to medieval collective games, or rather their bloody side effects, the birth of modern sports fandom, with all its negative consequences, is tied to the development of modern sports and broader social transformation during the 20th century. Apart from changes in leisure time, this includes the emergence of brand new subcultures and associated moral panics in mainstream society – often caused by the exaggerated images of subculture members conveyed by the media. Ever since football became a phenomenon,

9 MAREŠ – SMOLÍK – SUCHÁNEK 2004, pp. 10-14; SMOLÍK 2008, p. 243.
10 MAREŠ – SMOLÍK – SUCHÁNEK 2004, pp. 31.

violent clashes among fans both during and outside matches have attracted media interest. Historical research shows that in the UK, the birthplace of modern football, these incidents were not uncommon from the early days of the game. Violence between football fan groups has been on the rise in the UK since the 1960s. It was then that youth subculture members began to be seen in the stands and elsewhere and were condemned by the media as violators of public order and perpetrators of football-related violence. An initial focus on Teddy Boys, members of the British subculture of rock and roll fans, switched to Mods and Rockers, who were, in turn, replaced in the stands by members of the emerging skinhead subculture. Football hooligans would eventually discover one disadvantage of skinhead style – its easy identification by authorities – and change their look to that of "casuals". This was, however, some years away.[11]

The interest of social scientists in negative social developments around radical fan groups has grown proportionally with the rise in football fan violence since the 1970s and 1980s. It was during these decades that this violence – partly associated with the activities of British hooligans or "rowdies" at home and abroad – became a Europe-wide problem. In the 1970s, the phenomenon was selected as a topic for subculture research at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. At first, these scholars focused on members of subculture groups (rockers, mods and skinheads) in the stands, but later their interest turned to football audiences more generally.

While there had been eruptions of English football hooliganism abroad in European football cups since the 1970s, the catastrophe at Heysel Stadium in Brussels in 1985 marked a symbolic crisis point. During the finals of the European Champion Clubs' Cup (the predecessor of the current UEFA Champions League) that year, 39 Juventus Turin fans were trampled to death and several hundred people were injured in the panic caused by the actions of a radical core of FC Liverpool fans. On the one hand, insufficient security and organisation and the less-than-satisfactory state of the stadium created the conditions for the disaster. On the other, old grievances played their role: in the cup finals between FC Liverpool and AS Roma one year earlier, there had been many match-related incidents between Italian and English fans, leaving several people injured.[12] After the 1985 events, television footage and photos from Brussels quickly spread around the world. The public was appalled and the mainstream media began to focus on the football hooliganism issue.[13] Campaigns by European authorities

11 MURPHY, Patrick. *Football on Trial: Spectator Violence and Developments in the Football World.* London : Routledge, 1990.

12 Krátce z domova i z ciziny. In *Rudé právo*, 1. June 1985, p. 8.

13 In the Czechoslovak context, the official daily *Rudé právo* responded to the tragedy by giving a brief history of football-related violence in the United Kingdom. Among its list of past hooligan brawls and the numbers of injured up until 1985, the paper included a tragic accident at a Glasgow stadium in 1971 in which 66 spectators were crushed to death and more than 200 were injured. That disaster had no connection with hooliganism. See Ohlasy na tragédii na bruselském stadionu. Nejhorší demonstrace fotbalového chuligánství. In *Rudé právo*, 31. May 1985, p. 8. Another report highlighted earlier incidents involving English fans during their trips abroad. See FELT, Karel – KUBÍN, Miroslav. Tragédie nad rámec sportu. In *Rudé právo*, 1. June 1985, p. 8.

(resulting in the *European Convention on Spectator Violence*[14]) and the Thatcher government in the UK against football violence inside and outside the stadium[15] led to Europe-wide initiatives against hooligan groups.

In the 1980s, phenomena like fans' occupation of public spaces and (still unorganised) violence during football matches spread even behind the seemingly impenetrable Iron Curtain into socialist Czechoslovakia. In keeping with the Western media message, they were described as symptoms of the "British disease".[16] As photos from the period suggest, many Czechoslovak fans within the emerging ultras did not even try to conceal their British inspiration. Although there had likely been some incidents as early as in the late 1970s, the media paid little attention to them. The best-known event, which journalists linked to the Brussels tragedy, was an infamous trip made by Sparta Prague fans to Bánská Bystrica during which they damaged the Slovakia-bound train they travelled in. The incident occurred in June 1985, shortly after the Brussels disaster, and consequently attracted much publicity.[17] A trial of the perpetrators followed, and in 1987 a now classic movie based on these events was released under the title *Proč?* (*Why?*).[18] The media also highlighted the death of an elderly female passer-by, who had been caught up in a clash between Sparta and Pilsen fans at a train station in 1988. Journalists connected the incident to the activities of English hooligans during the world football championship in West Germany the previous June. As the 1980s came to a close, spectator violence thus increasingly became a key focus of both social scientists and criminologists.[19]

Within the Eastern bloc, the Czechoslovak experience – including the initial lack or limited amount of coverage of negative football-related phenomena – was in no way isolated. There was, for instance, no information in the Polish media about the riots during the 1980 Polish cup final between Legia Warsaw and Lech

14 The full title of this legislation was the *European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football Matches* (1985). It came into effect in November 1985, that is, six months after the Brussels tragedy.

15 The Thatcher government's campaign culminated in the adoption of the UK *Football Spectators Act* in 1989, which focused on football matches in England and Wales. This statute introduced controls over problematic fans and potentially denied them stadium entrance. A decade later, it was replaced with even stricter legislation under the *Football (Disorder) Act* (2000).

16 VOLEK, Jiří. Britská nemoc za Husáka. In VLADIMIR 518 et al. *Kmeny 0: městské subkultury a nezávislé společenské proudy před rokem 1989*. Praha : Bigg Boss & Yinachi, 2013, pp. 456-487.

17 *Rudé právo* compared the fans' behaviour to that of English hooligans, and the incident was later condemned by the Union of Friends of Sparta Prague, the official association of club supporters. The club responded by imposing stricter controls on those entering the stadium including bans on the sale of alcoholic beverages and the admission of hardcore fans. See Vandalismus nestrpíme. In *Rudé právo*, 20. June 1985, p. 8; MÍKA, Z. Takoví nemají ve Spartě místo. Ostré odsouzení vandalů. In *Rudé právo*, 21. June 1985, p. 8; Rozhodná opatření Sparty. In *Rudé právo*, 22. June 1985, p. 8. The train incident was also mentioned in the official sports daily; see Jízda málo spanilá. Vandalismus v našem sportu nestrpíme In *Čs. sport*, 20. June 1985, p. 8.

18 *Proč?*, a film directed by Karel Smyczek based on a script by Radek John, premiered on 1. October 1987. The film was meant to have an educational purpose and highlight problems with youth culture, but it has since become a cult classic among football fans. The same mythic status applies to the incident involving Sparta fans on which the film was based. VOLEK 2013, pp. 456-487.

19 SLEPIČKA, Pavel – PEKÁREK, Jiří. *Sportovní diváctví: rozbor negativních jevů na stadiónech: prevence proti diváckým výstřelkům*. 1. vyd. Praha : Olympia, 1990; VEČERKA, Kazimír (ed.) *Jak na fotbalové výtržníky: zpráva o průzkumu negativních projevů vlajkonošů a možností jejich prevence*. Praha: Institut pro kriminologii a sociální prevenci, 1991.

Poznań, which caused one death and allegedly several hundred injuries.[20] Likewise, in 1982, the Soviet media initially downplayed one of the worst spectator tragedies in Soviet history, which took place at Luzhniki Stadium, in which 66 home team fans were crushed to death in the crowd during a UEFA Cup match between Spartak Moscow and HFC Haarlem, the result albeit of an accident rather than spectator violence.[21] Violent clashes related to football occurred in the Soviet Union as early as the 1980s. Among the most significant were the Kyiv football riots, which broke out during a match between Spartak Moscow and local team Dynamo Kyiv in 1987. This time, however, the violence provoked a considerable media response.[22]

After the societal changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Czech and Slovak radical football fan scenes also saw significant shifts. Newly open borders brought the chance to seek immediate inspiration abroad, both by attending matches and personally connecting with other European scenes. The same exchanges became possible for the members of many other former Eastern bloc scenes, including those in Poland, Hungary and the countries of the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union.[23] For the radical fan scene in the Czech Republic, the 1990s were thus a time of major transformation. New opportunities led to the better organisation of the scene, or rather of its components, the groups around individual clubs. Moreover, new tactics came from abroad that included and went beyond the occupation of stadium space. This meant, at least in some respects, the end of the so-called pre-hooligan era of spontaneous football-related violence, riots and vandalism. Fan activities inside the stadium and elsewhere were gradually taken over by organised groups of football hooligans.[24]

The behaviour of the football hooligans of the 1990s initially focused on attacks on the fans of opposing clubs and unorganised brawls in and outside of stadiums. Later, there was a rise in pre-arranged showdowns with rival hooligan groups. At the same time, social networks developed both domestically and across the border. From the mainstream media's perspective, hooligans were mainly an issue at times of group violence or disturbances which affected the otherwise uninvolved public. The latter included an incident in the first half of the 1990s when two radical fans from Brno threw a soldier from a train, leading to the man's death after his fall. In another controversial case in 1999, a group of Baník hooligans pelted a train carrying Olomouc club fans with stones. The attack injured a young woman, who suffered lifelong consequences, and the perpetrators were given a custodial sentence with no chance of probation.

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20 KOSSAKOWSKI, Radoslaw. From Communist Fan Clubs to Professional Hooligans: A History of Polish Fandom as a Social Process. In *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 2017, Vol. 34, No. 3, p. 284.

21 At the time, this incident was only mentioned briefly in the Moscow daily *Vechernaya Moskva*. In contrast, there was more coverage in the Western media. The real scope of tragedy was not revealed in the Soviet press until the end of the 1980s.

22 MAREŠ – SMOLÍK – SUCHÁNEK 2004, pp. 118-121.

23 KOSSAKOWSKI, pp. 281-292.

24 MAREŠ – SMOLÍK – SUCHÁNEK 2004, pp. 129-134.

During the second half of the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s, the first more tightly organised hooligan groups began to form in the Czech Republic, where the scene had become comparable to those around football rioters abroad. Organised hooligan gangs in the country were thus almost 20 years behind their counterparts in the English-speaking world. This was due on the one hand to the repressive Czechoslovak state apparatus before 1989 and on the other to the relatively limited size of the subculture compared to its equivalents in the United Kingdom and some other European nations. Researchers estimate that around the year 2000, the Czech hooligan scene consisted of 300 to 350 individuals.[25] As had been the case in England a few years earlier, members of the skinhead scene gradually began to appear at Czech football matches in the 1990s. Compared to the British subculture, the Czech skinhead scene of the first half of the 1990s was arguably more politicised, and tensions within the group had an impact on the Kops.

The most noticeable hooligan gangs in the Czech Republic formed around clubs with strong fan bases. In addition to the communities associated with the Prague clubs Sparta and Slavia, many groups emerged around Baník Ostrava and FC Brno and some smaller groups formed around other clubs. According to Mareš, Smolík and Suchánek, the first formally named gang was *Brigade Drápek z Lasičky* (BDzL), created by fans of Sparta Prague in the mid-1990s. In their list of other major hooligan gangs established before 2004, these researchers include the Johny Kentus Gang (JKG) and Orthodox Fans Brno (both associated with 1. FC Brno), Apple Commando and Chachar Boys (both associated with Baník Ostrava), Berserk (Bohemians Prague), Brigate '97 and Slavia Hooligans (both associated with Slavia Prague), Red Pirates Prague (Sparta Prague), Pilsen bOi!s (FC Viktoria Pilsen), Divison Nord (Teplice football club), Hovada Zubr and NS Commando (both associated with SK Sigma Olomouc), and Brüx Vandals (FC Baník Most or FC MSU Most 1996 and later FK SIAD Most). Friendships and associations also formed among some of these groups. These links could be temporary and strategic for gangs associated with clubs in the highest league, or more enduring for groups in lower divisions. Some Czech gangs also had ties to hooligan and ultras groups abroad, especially in Slovakia, Poland and Germany.[26]

Football Fanzines

At the end of the 1980s, football fanzines emerged as a new phenomenon in the Czech Republic as part of the transformation of club fan groups and the surrounding scene. Just a few years later, these zines could no longer be considered a novelty among alternative culture publications in the Czech Republic or internationally. In fact, the earliest fanzines had appeared in the English-speaking world back in the 1930s as a means of communicating across alternative scenes. The form found a new popularity in European alternative scenes in the 1970s, with fanzines

25 SMOLÍK 2008, p. 137.

26 Examples of domestically linked include Baník Ostrava – Rudá hvězda (Red Star), later FC Union Cheb and FC Brno – Klatovy. Among the Czech-Slovak pairings were FC Brno – Slovan Bratislava and Baník Ostrava –Spartak Trnava. Czech-Polish partnerships included Baník Ostrava – GKS Katowice. See MAREŠ – SMOLÍK – SUCHÁNEK 2004, pp. 134, 135-137.

mainly emerging from British music subculture communities, especially punk. The UK punk zines *Sniffin'Glue* and *Ripped and Torn* were early titles in the new wave of amateur do-it-yourself journalism that began in 1976.[27]

In many subculture scenes, zines served as the main communication platform essentially until the mass penetration of the Internet, and the zine journalism that came out of the UK alternative communities in the 1970s marked a turning point. Zines gave the subculture a communication forum while also recording its history and creating a network of readers (and contributors/content creators). One by one, punk, oi!, ska and metal fan groups and the members of other parallel UK scenes started their own zines. For British football fans, the situation was no different, and the first fanzine titles soon began to appear, produced either by fan groups of particular clubs or established publications wanting a wider impact.

British football zine-makers drew inspiration from the national punk zine scene. While there were a number of predecessors, the real boom in football publications occurred in the 1980s. In the context of British fanzine culture, it is noteworthy that one of the first recognised national football zines, *When Saturday Comes*, debuted in 1986 as a supplement of the music fanzine *Snipe!* The first British football fanzine, sometimes called a "pre-fanzine", was probably the satirical zine *Foul!* published between 1972 and 1976 by University of Cambridge graduates. It imitated the style of the British satirical magazine *Private Eye* and mainstream football publications like *Shoot!* and *Goal* and anticipated some of the design features of subsequent music fanzines. In a way, *Foul!* became a prototype for a certain kind of British football zine.[28] Meanwhile, the first club-related zines appeared in the mid-1970s in York, Bradford and London. Early football fanzines of the 1980s included *Terrace Talk*, which came out of the York City FC ultra and hooligan scene in 1981. It served as a template for publishers of independent football print media throughout the 1980s.

The 1980s saw the significant development of zine journalism among British football fans. Football zines of the time became an important communication hub for fan groups given the attitude of the mainstream UK media, which was creating a moral panic in response to growing issues with football hooligan gangs and several tragedies (the Bradford Stadium fire and European cup final disaster in Brussels, both in 1985, and the Hillsborough Stadium catastrophe in 1989). Mainstream coverage of football and its spectators in the 1980s was thus decidedly one-sided. Against this backdrop, the rise of British football fanzines was part of an effort to show an image of football match attendees that was closer to the reality. At the same time, it reflected the increasing activism of fans, who sought to defend themselves against the technocratic rules imposed by British authorities in

27 According to Duncombe, the first of these publications was the punk zine *Punk*, which appeared in New York in January 1976. DUNCOMBE 2008, pp. 113-132.

28 For a discussion of *Foul!* and the surrounding UK scene, see, for example, SHAW, Phil. *Whose Game Is It Anyway?: The Book of Football Fanzines*. Hemel Hempstead: Argus, 1989, pp. 6-16; JARY, David – HORNE, John – BUCKE, Tom. Football Fanzines and Football Culture: A Case of Successful Cultural Contestation. In *Sociological Review*, 1991, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 584-587; MILLWARD, Peter. The Rebirth of the Football Fanzine. In *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 2008, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 299-300.

their immediate response to stadium problems. In another sign of this activism, the period saw the establishment of the national Football Supporters' Association (FSA), which became both an organising platform for individual fan groups and a network for sharing information. Meanwhile, football zines provided a basic information forum for English, Welsh and Scottish fans.

Off the Ball was a nationwide zine that closely preceded *When Saturday Comes*. The first issue of *When Saturday Comes* appeared in 1986 in the form of 200 hand-stapled photocopies. The number soon increased, however, and by the mid-1990s, the zine had been transformed into a national football monthly with a circulation of around 40,000 copies.[29] One of the central motives for fanzine production in this period was the wish to describe and publicise the real problems of British football fans and thus provide some balance and a reality check for the largely negative image created by the British media. Unlike the fanzines put out by the fan communities of individual clubs, *When Saturday Comes* and *Off the Ball* were independent publications dealing with the concerns of football fans nationwide. As zine production expanded in the UK, more titles emerged across the entire football fan scene. By the mid-1990s, there were at least 400 active publications, and the total number of the zines, including those still existing and those already defunct, stood at around 600.[30]

Jary, Bucke and Thorne highlight some of the key characteristics of British football fanzines between the 1970s and 1990s: 1) they were created by fans for fans; 2) although they were usually created by fans of one club for that club's supporters, they were independent of the club itself; 3) they opposed the control of football at the national level by commercial and media interests, including the promotion of the influence of the strongest clubs and TV interests; 4) where they were created by the fan groups of smaller clubs, they aimed to offset the media's focus on the most successful clubs from large cities; 5) they sought to combat misperceptions about the majority of football fans based on stereotypes in the media (including the social construct of the football hooligan, whose emphasis had led to the escalation of police control and a general deterioration of the stadium atmosphere) and 6) they expressed outrage at what they saw as an excessive police presence along with often pointless police offensives and security measures that restricted attendance and did little to enhance safety.[31]

Following this wave of British football fanzines, zines also began to appear in other European countries, with the first publications probably occurring in Italy.[32] During the 1980s and 1990s, fanzines in the form of club and nationwide titles

29 GIULIANOTTI, Richard. Enlightening the North: Aberdeen Fanzines and Local Football Identity. In GIULIANOTTI, Richard – ARMSTRONG, Gary (eds.) *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football*. Oxford : Berg, 1997, pp. 211-237.

30 BARBER, Gavin – WILLIAMS, John. Fact Sheet 7: Fan 'Power' and Democracy in Football, In *Factsheets of Centre for the Sociology of Sport*, University of Leicester, Department of Sociology, 2002, pp. 4-5. https://web.archive.org/web/20100821184842/http://www.le.ac.uk/so/css/resources/factsheets/fs7.html

31 In some cases, the critical stances of zine-makers sprang from their alienation from the attitudes of club management. The sale of some zines was forbidden in official club areas, and the creators were banned from stadiums. See JARY – HORNE – BUCKE 1991, pp. 585-587.

32 SHAW 1989, p. 14.

emerged all over Europe. In reviewing fanzine journalism, it is often hard to distinguish independently produced fan magazines from commercially produced titles. Many of these foreign titles, in fact, began as independent zines produced by fans for fans but after a while were transformed into advertising revenue-generating publications that engaged semi-professional and professional journalists and photographers. At the same time, many of these titles marked a breakthrough in the non-commercial publication and fanzine scenes in their home countries – at least in their initial phase.

In France, generally known for its strong fanzine production (especially in the realms of art and politics), football supporters published the fanzine/magazine *SupMag*, whose popularity peaked at 25,000 copies monthly between 1992 and 1995.[33] It was followed by titles such as *Authentik Ultras, Culture Tribunes* and *Generation Ultras*. The Italian magazine *Supertifo* was first published in 1985; fans and journalists initially contributed free content to the zine, which was later commercialised. A decade later, *Fan's Magazine* appeared on the national scene, including ultras in its target audience. Other Italian titles included the short-lived *Hooligans*, *Ultra* and *Planeta TIFO*. In Spain, *Super Hincha* magazine began publication in 1993 and for a time had a rival in *El Jogador*. The Portuguese fanzine *Fanaticos* was launched in 1993. It was followed by the *Super Ultra* zine, which had a significant influence on the fan movement despite only having a limited distribution of 1,000 copies per issue. Other publications from Portuguese fan communities included *"Ultra, ... um modo de vida!"* and *Ultra Magazine*, which later became *Adeptos*. The first football zine to appear in Germany, the then Czechoslovakia's neighbour, was *Fan Tref* in 1986. Subsequent titles included *Match Live, Stadionwelt*, *Erlebniss Fussball* and *Blickfang Ultra*, the latter two of which still exist today. In Hungary, the best-known nationwide title was *3. Félidő* (*The Third Half*) while in Poland, the national zine *Szalikowcy* appeared in the 1990s. It was followed by the semi-professional zine/magazine *To My Kibice* (TMK), which has been around since 2001 and is one of the most influential of European fan magazines. An attempt was made to publish a Polish English-language magazine called *Saturdays Heroes* that would cover the entire European ultra scene.[34] The Polish zines *Szalikowcy* and TMK have had a significant impact on the Czech fan scene.

According to Marchi, Roversi and Bruno, most French, German, Spanish and Portuguese football zines in the 1990s came from hooligan and ultra groups.[35] This is probably due in part to the more compact nature and better organisation of these fan communities. It may also be surmised that there were certain key differences between the situation in continental Europe and the one in the UK, with the continental Europe group also including fanzine makers in Poland, Hungary, the former Czechoslovakia and the former Soviet republics. While the situation in these

33 DAUNCEY, Hugh – HARE, Geoff (eds.) *France and the 1998 World Cup. The National Impact of a World Sporting Event.* London : Routledge, 1999, p. 179.

34 For more details, see Historie nadklubových ultras fanzinů v Evropě in *Hooligans.cz*, 23. June 2013, http://www.hooligans.cz/domains/hooligans.cz/index.php/books/2922-historie-nadklubovych-ultras-fanzinu-v-evrope

35 Cited in GIULIANOTTI 1997, p. 232.

countries is not entirely clear, it would seem that the national fan base was not sufficiently connected to form an association like the British FSA. In the absence of such an organisation, the tasks of this kind of information and organisational platform fell to successful local, national or transnational zines.

Czech Football Zines

In Czechoslovakia, the first official and semi-official publications to describe day-to-day events in the football world were the more or less amateur bulletins of individual sports and sports fan clubs. These clubs were established at various points after 1948, often in the guise of a Union of Friends of a particular club (this was the case, for example, with Slavia Prague, Baník Ostrava and Sparta Prague). With few exceptions, these bulletins provided little coverage of events in the stands and behind-the-scenes developments.[36] Fans therefore obtained information about the game mainly from critical reports in the official media, which, as a rule, only focused on occurrences in the stands in the event of some social disturbance. These reports reflected the general image of the violent and uninhibited behaviour of certain fan groups held by "decent" fans and the majority of society. And they expressed society's condemnation. In many cases, they also pointed to a clash between the generations: many in the older generation had not taken well to changes in the traditionally shared stand areas when new patterns of behaviour began to spread among fan groups in the 1980s. Given the gap in the official coverage, it was only logical that a need arose for spaces where information about the fan scene (including its semi-legal and illicit aspects) could be exchanged. This was driven – entirely in the spirit of the laws of supply and demand – by the interests of both highly active fans and more general spectators.

While football zines were not included in the first major critical survey of fanzines in the former Czechoslovakia,[37] the converse was true in international historiography and social science research. Internationally, football zines were often cited as a historical source, and several studies dealt with them as a specific phenomenon. This was mainly due to the greater number of subculture scenes, including football fan communities, in places like the United Kingdom, but it also reflected the longer tradition and greater number of alternative media outlets in the English-speaking world generally. In the Czech Republic, as we have seen, the rise in the independent media of football fans was around ten years behind the British wave and did not occur until the first half of the 1990s. The reason for this lay partly in the continuing political restrictions on the cross-border movement of people and information from socialist Czechoslovakia despite some reforms in the second half of the 1980s. Independent media production before 1989 was also limited

36 *Spartaklub*, the magazine of Sparta club fans, included an early version of modern-style "reports" on the attendance of individual matches as far back as the 1960s. The magazine was published by the Union of Friends of Sparta (originally called Spartaklub). See Střípky minulosti, aneb se Spartaklubem do historie I. In *SpartaForever.cz*, 27. January 2012, https://www.spartaforever.cz/ukaz_clanek.php?clanek=2317

37 HROCH, Miloš. *Křičím: "To jsem já": příběhy českého fanzinu od 80. let po současnost / I Shout "That's Me!": Stories of the Czech Fanzine from the '80s Till Now.* Praha : PageFive, 2017.

by the lack of access to mass printing technology and its control by the state as well as the potential criminalisation of the publication of "harmful" material. As a result, there was generally no growth of independent media until the liberalisation measures after 1989. Open borders brought the virtual free movement of information and cultural exchange, and this was accompanied by commercial printing options and the relatively unrestricted freedom of speech.

Considered the first Czech football fanzine, *Bazal*, which continues to be published today by members of the Baník Ostrava fan scene. The first issue appeared in August 1991 and was meant as an occasional publication from FC Baník Ostrava OKD Fan Club. It featured information about, among other things, fans' trips and football tournaments and the establishment of FC Baník Fan Club, which replaced the club's former Union of Friends. Over time and thanks to growing opportunities, *Bazal* saw changes in both its content and appearance. As the oldest continuously published fan title, it also eventually obtained its own banner, which reads "The oldest zine of the best fans". *Bazal*'s 100th issue inspired a special choreographed routine by Baník Ostrava supporters during their trip to Zlín. Since 2016, the zine has appeared in colour with extended content,[38] and in 2019 it saw its 156th issue. In the 1990s, similar titles could be found on the scene, but none have survived or been published for as long as *Bazal*. This zine is thus a real phenomenon in Czech independent fan journalism.

Beginning in the 1990s, several other football fan communities released their own zines. This rise in Czech publications was not connected with any external attacks, as had been the case, for example, with the growth of the UK football zine scene and birth of the FSA. Rather, as we have seen, the Czech output was more likely linked to the opening of the state borders, which enabled cultural exchange. This meant not only the emulation of foreign styles but also other effects of the mingling and clashing of subcultures, including the copying of communication conventions within and across individual scenes. In a very real way, all of this was aided by the end of the state's preliminary censorship of periodicals and a substantial decrease in control and sanctions around content compared with the pre-1989 situation. In terms of both their substance and publication standpoint, Czech and Slovak football fanzines focused more on hooligans and ultras, a slant similar to the one seen in Germany and Italy.[39] In most cases, each title published dozens of issues (with only rare instances of hundreds of copies), and the Czech publications fell decisively short of the distribution of similar alternative outlets abroad. At the turn of the millennium, the Czech zines thus reflected the general features of classic fanzines: they were non-commercial, essentially amateur publications created by members of a subculture group for that group. They cannot be conceived of as a large-scale phenomenon comparable to the football zines that hit the UK in the 1980s. Aside from their links with the German scene, Czech hooligan and ultra subcultures are most closely related to the Polish and Hungarian scenes, and zines from Poland and Hungary continue to show up often in the Czech environment.

38 For more information, see Bazal - recenze na poslední čísla. In *Chachari.cz*, 5. January 2019, http://www.chachari.cz/bazal-recenze-na-posledni-cisla-rn2087

39 GIULIANOTTI 1997, p. 232.

As of 2004, Czech football clubs were linked to the following fanzines published by groups in their hooligan and ultra scene: 1. FC Brno – *Eagle* (publisher: Johny Kentus Gang) and *Orthodox* (publisher: Orthodox Fans Brno); České Budějovice – *Gauner* (publisher: Brigade Gauners); Hradec Králové – *United Vandals* (publisher: Regiment Königgratz); FK Jablonec – *Gablonz Supporters* (publisher: Corps Juniors); Sigma Olomouc – *Dvě stránky* (published by fans of Sigma Olomouc); Silesian FC Opava – *Bulldog Corps* (publisher: Bulldog Corps); Baník Ostrava – *Bazal* (published by fans of Baník Ostrava) and *Chachar Boys* (publisher: Chachar Boys); Bohemians Prague – *Lalášek* (publisher: Berserk); Slavia Prague – *Fanatik* (publisher: Brigate '97), *Time for You* (publisher: Slavia Hooligans) and *Výtržník* (publisher: Slavia Youngsters); Sparta Prague – *Ultras* (publisher: Brigade Drápek z Lasičky), *Bezmozek Times* and *Pirát* (publisher: Red Pirates Sparta); Viktoria Pilsen – *Alcohools*, *Wolwes* and *Blue Red Wolves Pilsen* (publisher: Blue Red Wolves Pilsen), *Pilsen Fans* (publisher: Pilsen Fans) and *Pilsen bOi!s informátor* (publisher: Pilsen bOi!s).[40] A complete list of major documented zine titles, including their publisher and known time frame, is attached to this article as Annex 1. Documented zines come mainly from the scenes of the largest fan groups and therefore tend to be associated with first-league football clubs.

In total, there have been about 40 football zines published in the Czech or Slovak Republics (around 30 in the CR and around 10 in the SR) at different times. Compared to the UK scene, this number is relatively small, but it reflects certain key features of the local environment. These include the relatively fragmented interests of the fan (hooligan) groups that have tried to influence both the negative image of the fan community in the mainstream media and the policies of the official football establishment (especially the Football Association of the Czech Republic). Most Czech football zines have focused entirely on the history and specifics of individual clubs, or more precisely, their hooligan and ultra scenes. Thus, information about the scene has often been based on highly subjective experiences and attitudes. There have, in fact, been only two titles which have aspired to a more nationwide outlook and information about the hooligan and ultra scene. The first of these is *Vlajkonoši*, whose editorial team was made up of Sparta Prague hooligans. And the second is *Football Factory*, a landmark publication and the first enduring national zine.[41]

Football Factory and the Decade of the Czech Nationwide Zine

The first issue of *Football Factory* came out in July 1998 and, together with a brief introduction to hooligan groups from Ostrava, Sparta Prague and Hradec Králové, featured information about fan trips, some interesting facts about foreign scenes, photos of the Kops and clips from the mainstream press. The zine's publisher, who appeared in its pages under the pseudonym Č.N.L., has since said that he was involved in publishing *Bazal* but drew inspiration for a nationwide zine from the Polish

40 This list represents titles documented by researchers focusing on the hooligan scene. See MAREŠ – SMOLÍK – SUCHÁNEK 2004, p. 135-137; SMOLÍK 2008, p. 270.

41 The zine's title came from the 1988 novel *The Football Factory* by debut British author John King, which was set in the hooligan scene around London-based club Chelsea. King followed the book with two sequels, *Headhunters* (1997) and *England Away* (1998). In 2004, a film version of *The Football Factory* was released under the same name.

title *Szalikowcy*. The initial print run of *Football Factory* was only around 150 copies but it reached its peak in 2004 at about 700 copies. Later, with the rise of the Internet, this number fell to between 500 and 550 copies. According to the publisher, he initially relied on the mail to connect with individual contributors and readers. He also confirms that internal problems in the domestic scene led to its fragmentation and that these were not limited to the late 1990s. Among the problems were the fairly tense relationships among the fan groups of individual clubs, which often lacked any capacity for a detached view. These tensions also affected efforts to capture an objective view of the hooligan and ultra scene in the Czech Republic and led to boycotts of *Football Factory* by some groups.[42]

The original version of *Football Factory* appeared between 1998 and 2008. The first issue, as we have noted, came out in July 1998 and the last (60th) edition was part of volume 11 in August 2008. While in the early years, the zine had a maximum of 40 pages, the content almost doubled in the final years. Despite its relatively long existence, the basic design features barely changed: *Football Factory* had a colour front cover and two-sided back cover. The rest of the content was black-and-white except for a colour insert originally comprising two and later three pages. From the second year onwards, unauthorised copies of *Football Factory* began to appear as a result of its price (which was meant to cover overheads). The publisher responded by placing a note in the zine that read: *"The original edition has a colour cover and centrefold."*[43] The main change to the zine's graphics consisted of the replacement of the simple football club logos that accompanied texts with black-and-white photo illustrations. At the same time, the publication began to include more elaborate advertising, the volume of which grew over time. Nevertheless, when compared to other fanzines of the period, *Football Factory* maintained a relatively conservative look throughout the decade. It also increased its distribution network: the zine was available to subscribers and, as of 2004, could also be bought at seven different outlets – two in Prague, two in Ostrava and one in each of Brno, Pilsen and České Budějovice. The final issue could be purchased at 13 locations (four in Prague, two in Ostrava and one in each of Brno, Pilsen, České Budějovice, Liberec, Tanvald, Uherské Hradiště and Bratislava, Slovakia). The distribution points were shops devoted to subculture fashion and football fan merchandise.[44]

In terms of its content, *Football Factory* only saw limited changes in response to specific developments in the non-mainstream football fan scene. The zine remained concerned with the everyday lives of football hooligan and ultra groups. Most of the content consisted of reports of individual matches and related events such as the creation of choreographies and to their status in the ultra scene, more or less pre-arranged clashes between hooligan groups and domestic and international alliances. The co-

42 These comments by *Football Factory*'s publisher, Vladimír Novák (here called by the nickname "Ženklavák") appeared in a 2013 interview. See Rozhovor s ČNL - vydavatelem zinu Football Factory. In *Supporters.cz*, 12. May 2013; https://www.supporters.cz/clanek/rozhovor-s-cnl-vydavatelem-zinu-football-factory/4935.html. Vladimír Novák was named in the print edition of *Football Factory* as its editor-in-chief and publisher from the publication of volume 7 in 2004.

43 Upozornění. In *Football Factory*, 1999, Vol. 2, No.4, p. 39.

44 Kde FF koupíte? In *Football Factory*, 2004, Vol. 7, No. 29, p. 3; Kde FF koupíte? In *Football Factory*, 2008, Vol. 11, No. 60, p. 3.

verage included not only the domestic scene but also the national football team and, to some degree, events in neighbouring countries. Compared to other hooligan and ultra publications, *Football Factory* was ground-breaking in its effort to record the scene not from the perspective of one particular group but by providing a space for different views; this was especially true in the case of conflicts between competing gangs, where assessments by individual club zines tended to be highly subjective. In the context of the radical fan scene, the zine's breakthrough status lay, among other things, in its relative availability and provision of information to scene insiders, uninvolved fans and eventually also critical commentators.[45]

Match reports were accompanied by information about the hooligan and ultra groups in individual local clubs, ratings of trips and portraits of groups and scenes in the United Kingdom, France, Poland, Italy, Germany and elsewhere internationally. The zine also highlighted information about the football hooligan and radical fan subcultures that had appeared in the mainstream media and thus showed the media's image of both the international and domestic scenes. And there was content from other Czech and international fanzines. Moreover, *Football Factory* connected the Czech hooligan and ultra scene in a way that allowed for the sharing of other kinds of information, including growing advertising of goods, especially hooligan fashion and fan accessories and other fanzines. Regular features included surveys about issues in the fan scene (e.g. the place of politics in the stands, racism, pre-arranged clashes among unarmed fans, a potential truce during matches of the Czech national team etc.), reader feedback, commentary on scene developments and reviews of mainstream cultural products about the issues of football hooligans or ultras.[46]

Football Factory covered a relatively distinct decade (1998 – 2008) that saw the transformation of subculture scenes and their communication platforms. These changes were based, in part, on a generational change, as increasing numbers of active members of the 1990s ultra and hooligan scenes cut back their activities. At the same time, it reflected the massive development of the Internet just before and after 2000. Online communication allowed a new generation to share information more flexibly and provided greater possibilities for anonymity when communicating about events that often existed in a legal grey area. After 2000, links to websites dedicated to hooligans and ultras slowly began to appear in *Football Factory*. These included the Polish sites *kibice.pl*, *chuligani.prv.pl* and *tomykibice.com* and the Czech site *www.hooligans.cz*. The latter has been in operation since 1999, changing owners for the first time in 2004 and again after

45 Even before it ceased publication, *Football Factory* featured in critical analyses of the hooligan and ultra scene as one of the key communication platforms of its era. For a qualitative content analysis of several issues, see VOCHOCOVÁ, Lenka. Třetí poločas – fotbaloví chuligáni v ČR a násilí. In *Rexter*, 2007, Vol. 2, pp. 1-37.

46 This commentary included, for instance, a discussion of the film *Non plus ultras*, which was then in production. At the time, it had been announced that the film would focus on the issues of football fans in the Czech Republic. In fact, it only touched on the topic marginally with the hooligan scene serving more as a backdrop for the comedy. See V současnosti se u nás pod názvem „non plus ultras natáčí nový film o životě fans. In *Football Factory*, 2003, Vol. 6, No. 22, p. 48.

2007. The website gradually became more professional, and in 2008 it recorded almost two million visitors annually.[47] As we have seen, with the rise of the Internet, there was a drop in the number of copies of the *Football Factory* zine.

As the scene went from physical to virtual, many traditional fanzines did not survive the shift. These same pressures were at work in the UK football fan environment where there has been, however, increased commodification of the once marginalised football hooligan and ultra scenes since the 1990s.[48] Some UK fanzine titles also transitioned to virtual form. It is symptomatic that British social scientists are at least ten years ahead in addressing these changes as part of their work on football fans and the materials that illuminate their daily lives.[49] Meanwhile, in the Czech context, it appeared at first that *Football Factory* might be among the many fanzines that could not overcome the advent of new media. The zine published its last issue in 2008. The publisher retained the domain name www.footballfactory.cz but used the site to support the sale of fan merchandise while yielding the task of informing the scene to the already established Hooligans.cz. Other information sites followed, including some focused on individual clubs and other super club sites committed to the broader scene. An analysis of the organisational transformation of the Czech hooligan and ultra scene is beyond the remit of this study. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that contributing factors have included heavier regulation by repressive authorities, generational shifts within individual groups, changes to the rules on inter-group conflicts (affecting whether they are pre-arranged, in a pre-selected place, unarmed, etc.) and the rise of social media networks, which in many respects have replaced earlier and often more personal ties.

Football Factory's Legacy and the Revival of Football Fanzines?

Like many other (sub-)cultural products, *Football Factory* has been the target of a recent trend that might be called resurrection or return from the Internet to the physical world.[50] In 2019, 11 years after the last issue of the original zine, the print title was revived by a new editorial team and publisher.[51] In 2019, five issues were published, and while it remains to be seen how it will survive the current virtual era, both the demand and nostalgia for the publication have been evident

47 Historie webu hooligans.cz. In *Hooligans.cz*, 11. July 2015, http://www.hooligans.cz/index.php/reports/czech/4743-historie-webu-hooligans-cz-99-2015

48 An analysis of the commercialisation and commodification of the radical fan scene goes beyond the scope of this study. It is worth noting, however, that since 2000, there has been a growing supply of stories from the hooligan scene, particularly in the UK. These narratives include the memoirs of leading hooligan gang personalities (for example, Cass Pennant) and movies like *The Football Factory* (2004), *Green Street Hooligans* (2005) and *Cass* (2008). The Czech film industry responded with *Non Plus Ultras* (2004) and *Horem pádem* (2004), however both these productions featured the football fan scene as more of a backdrop. The lack of memoirs by Czech football hooligans of the late 1980s and early 1990s is symptomatic of the relatively small size of the local scene. As such, there is far more limited potential for commercialisation and commodification.

49 See MILLWARD 2008, pp. 299-310.

50 For more information about zines in the Internet age, see HROCH, Miloš. Samizdat v informační době: Jak ovlivnil Web 2.0 kulturu fanzinů. Diplomová práce. Praha : Fakulta sociálních věd UK, 2016.

51 The print edition lists its publisher as Jan Lysáček while the editor-in-chief is Petr "Proktor" Hrdlica. See the imprint in *Football Factory,* 2019, No 2, p. 3.

on hooligan and ultra-themed sites for some time. In the first issue, the team behind the new *Football Factory* summarised with some sentimentality the years that had elapsed since the shutting down of the original version. From a design perspective, the quality of the new iteration is of an altogether different level to the original *Football Factory*, which is understandable when we take into account technological innovations. From the point of view of content, however, the magazine strives to keep its original format.

The lifespan of Czech football zines has proven to be quite a vexed issue. As far as club-zines are concerned, *Bazal* preserves its long tradition, but many other independent publications have had relatively short lives. Most zines of earlier eras found themselves unable to survive the advent of new forms of online information-sharing, including the transformation brought about by the new web form of blogs. New information websites emerged in the online space, linking up Czech ultra and hooligan communities far more effectively than traditional print media had done. At the national level, key sites included Hooligans.cz and later Supporters.cz, and there are also several sites focused on local issues for individual clubs or groups. After 2000, the Internet meant, on the one hand, the accelerated sharing of information and, on the other new means to police its content and distribution. As time went on, discussions of football ultras and hooligan gangs began to appear on social media.

Aside from the "Internet turn", several other factors contributed to the decline of football zine journalism. Clearly, one was the generational change, with new forms of communication replacing older ones that were deemed ineffective by younger fans because they did not allow for dynamic sharing or the immediate expression of opinions via personal preferences. A second reason lay in the relatively limited reach of the Czech ultra and hooligan scene, not only in terms of individual groups but also in terms of its wider "audience". Additional factors may be the relative fragmentation of the Czech fan scene and the somewhat short-sighted economic priorities of national football association and the media, which contribute little to supporting football fan communities.

In terms of their direct impact, Czech football fanzines were the products of a limited scene and a limited trend. As such, they remained quite marginal from the standpoint of overall Czech fanzine production and, to some extent, their influence on the fan community. Nevertheless, they represent a historical source that is in many ways unique, recording not only the evolution of the Czech hooligan and ultra scene and its members' daily lives but other related social issues. With few exceptions, the zines dedicated to the individual hooligan or ultra group of a particular club did not survive the rise of new media. And while an effort has been made to revive the once formative Czech super-club football zine *Football Factory*, it remains to be seen whether it will find a stable readership in the context of ever-transforming virtual media.

Annex 1.

Title	Year	Author/publisher	Note/subtitle
Czech Republic			
Alcohools	1990s	Pilsen Fans (Pilsen football and ice hockey fans)	
Bazal	1991 – 2019 (no. 156 – 2019)	Fan club of Baník Ostrava	
Berserk	since 1999	Berserk (Bohemians Prague hooligans)	Irregular periodical for Bohemians, Slavia and Pardubice fanatics
Bezmozek Times	1990s	AC Sparta hooligans	Only for hooligans
Blue Red Wolves Pilsen	2000	Viktoria Plzeň fans	
Bohemák	since 2004 – 2006	Bohemians Prague fans	
Bulldog Corps News	since 1998	Hooligans SFC Opava (Bulldog Corps)	Informational zine of supporters of SFC Opava
Cadalso del Sur	2005	SK Slavia Prague fans (Jiří Vojáček?)	Fanzine of supporters of SK Slavia Prague
Dvě stránky	1998	Sigma Olomouc fans	Not only for die-hard fans of Sigma Olomouc, originally in the character of a bulletin
Eagle	since the season 1998/1999 – at least until 2002	Johny Kentus Gang (FC Brno hooligans)	
Fanatik		SK Slavia Prague Hools (Brigate '97)	Irregular periodical of Slavia fans
Fan Klub Vítek	since 1990	TJ Vítkovice fans	
Football Factory	1998 – 2008, revival 2019 (first four issues under different editorial team)	Č.N.L. – Ženklavák (Vladimír Novák), contributors from all over the Czech Republic	Now legendary nation-wide fanzine which drew inspiration from foreign zines.
Football Madness	1990s	FC Zlín hooligans	
Gablonz Supporters	2000	Jablonec nad Nisou ultras and hooligans	Irregular periodical of Jablonec hools and ultras.
Gauner	since 2000	Brigade Gauner Budweiss (Dynamo České Budějovice)	Irregular periodical of the fan club
Hooligans		FC Zlín hooligans	Nepravidelný zlínský zin
Hooligans	1996	Slavia Prague fans	Special issue of the zine Výtržník
Chachar Boys	1996 – 1999	Baník Ostrava hooligans	Irregular periodical of Ostrava hooligans. Articles on Baník Ostrava, GKS Katowice, Czech Republic
Lalášek	since the season 1999/2000	HC Pardubice and Bohemians fans	Pardubice-Bohemians zine
Orthodox	since 1998	Orthodox Fans Brno	Information on developments concerning the FC Brno fan scene
Pilsen Boi!s Informátor	since 2000	Pilsen Boi!S	
Pilsen Fans		Viktoria Plzeň and HC Plzeň fans fanzine	
Pirát	1998 – 2000	Red Pirates Sparta	Bulletin of the club Red Pirates Sparta

Slezan	since 1999	SFC Opava fans	Fanzine of the warriors from Silesian capitals (SFC Opava, WKS Śląsk Wrocław)
Stupid		Sparta Prague fans	
Time for You	since 2000	Slavia Hooligans	
Ultrafans		Slavia Prague Fans (Fanatics)	
Ultras Sparta	since 1997 – 1998	Brigade Drápek z Lasičky (AC Sparta hooligans)	
United Vandals	1990s (?)	Regiment Königgratz (SK/FC Hradec Králové)	
Vlajkonoši	since 2000	editorial team – AC Sparta hooligans	National zine
Výtržník	1990s (1998)	Slavia Prague fans (Slavia Youngsters)	
Wolves		Viktoria Plzeň fans	
Slovak Republic			
Bulldog		Bulldog 95 (Nitra)	Irregular periodical of the fan club FC Nitra
Dukla	since 2002	Dukla fans Banská Bystrica	Fanzine of Dukla fans Banská Bystrica
Futbal je len zámienka	1990s	ŠK Slovan Bratislava fans	Irregular periodical of thickheaded, demented aggressors, hooligans and fans and supporters of ŠK Slovan
Made in Košice	since 1998 – 2001	fan club of 1. FC Košice	Irregular periodical of the fan club 1. FC Košice
No Name	since 1997	Belasí fanatici (Slovan Bratislava)	
Red Black Warriors	1998 – 2000	Spartak Trnava fans	Magazine of the fans of the Trnava football
R.W.A.	since 2003	Red White Angels (Dukla Banská Bystrica)	
Supporters	since 1999	Psycho boys 98 (1. FC Košice hooligans)	
Vanguard	since 2004	Dukla Banská Bystrica supporters	
Warrior	since 2004	Red-Black Warriors (Spartak Trnava)	
Život fanatika		Concordia 1906 MFK Ružomberok	

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Československá 80. léta v hudbě nejsou mnohdy nahlížena jako dekáda z nejhodnotnějších a nezřídka jsou jim přisuzovány veskrze negativní přívlastky. Bylo by však zavádějící nazírat na uvedenou epochu jen prizmatem únikové a často obsahově vyprázdněné pop-music, nebo – parafrází s dobovou kritickou glosou v textu pražské novovlnné skupiny Nahoru po schodišti dolů band – jen oním *„českým kotvalděním-hložením“*. Již zesnulý muzikolog, hudební publicista a v uvedené době rovněž výrazný organizátor hudebního života neoficiální scény, Vojtěch Lindaur chápal po právu sledovanou dobu jako nadmíru zajímavou, tvůrčím přístupem plodnou a originální a připodobňoval zakladatelskou horečku i překotný vznik nových skupin hlavně ve druhé polovině 80. let jako srovnatelnou jen s lety šedesátými. Patrně netřeba nijak zvláště rozvádět, že uvedené Lindaurovo hledisko není v žádném případě ojedinělým a mimo zmiňované sféry oficiální produkce náleží 80. léta k nejvýraznějším kapitolám domácí alternativní a rockové hudby vůbec. Právě na tuto epochu se aktuálně zaměřila rovněž monografie antropoložky a hudebnice Pavly Jonssonové.

Úvodní kontextuální pole, v němž se bude výklad dále pohybovat a jež zmiňuje autorka rovněž v úvodních částech své práce je následující: V roce 1979 bylo Jazzové sekci umožněno uspořádat poslední IX. Pražské jazzové dny. S počátkem deváté dekády bylo možno vysledovat narůstající tlak ze strany domácích orgánů vůči alternativní hudební scéně, což vrcholilo v roce 1983, kdy ve stranickém týdeníku *Tribuna* pod fiktivním pseudonymem Jana Krýzla vyšel na popud nejvyšších stranických míst pamfletický článek *Nová vlna se starým obsahem*, k jehož důsledkům náležela mnohovrstevnatá represe zejména vůči amatérským kapelám hrajícím hlavně punk a tzv. českou novou vlnu. V roce 1986 proběhl pak soudní proces, kdy byla s konečnou platností definitivně zlikvidována Jazzová sekce a její čelní aktivisté byli v politicky motivovaném procesu vystaveni trestně-právnímu postihu a uvězněni. S koncem 80. let a pokračující korozí „normalizačního“ režimu lze

pak hovořit jednak o snahách kontrolovat uvedené hudební proudy (organizačně např. v platformách, kterými byly Rockfesty) a jak napovídají dosavadní výzkumy, tak bezprostředně před revolucí přibližovala se oficiální stanoviska i jednání moci patrně nakonec už i jisté rezignaci.

Lze konstatovat, že v základních konturách je uvedený fenomén muzikologicky i historiograficky již rámcově zpracován. Ze stěžejních textů přehledové literatury byla první relevantní studií mapující scénu 80. let práce *Excentrici v přízemí*, čítala více než čtyři desítky medailonů tehdejších kapel včetně úvodního programového eseje hudebního teoretika a publicisty Josefa Vlčka *Nová vlna – příběh dušičkový.*[1] Souhrnné povahy je kapitola k hudbě taktéž z Vlčkova pera v rozsáhlé syntéze *Alternativní kultura*[2] a z historiografické perspektivy zaměřil pozornost k fenoménu rockové hudby zejména Miroslav Vaněk. Jednak ke sledovanému tématu průkopnickou studií *Kytky v popelnici*[3], ve které se jako první profesní historik vyjadřoval k zákulisí a okolnostem kampaně kolem článku *Nová vlna se starým obsahem*, a potom zejména komplexně v syntéze *Byl to jenom rock´n´roll? Hudební alternativa v komunistickém Československu 1956 – 1989*.[4] Kromě toho vznikl seriál České televize Bigbít (1998), jenž činí společně s jeho internetovou platformou jednoznačně nejobsáhlejší faktografickou základnu mapující v celistvosti dějiny české a slovenské rockové hudby.[5] Předobrazem seriálu se stala stejnojmenná kniha Vojtěcha Lindaura a Ondřeje Konráda *Život v tahu aneb 30 roků rocku*.[6] Výraznou dokumentární a faktickou hodnotu mají i dějiny punku a hardcore K*ytary a řev aneb co bylo za zdí*[7] anebo Chadimova pamětnická Alternativa[8], cílící však zejména k počátkům nezávislých žánrů v 70. letech. Z historiografie se tematicky přibližují rovněž četné práce Přemysla Houdy, sice k dějinám folku ale rovněž i byrokratickému rámci existence tehdejších interpretů (např. *Šafrán: Kniha o sdružení písničkářů*)[9], anebo Petra Blažka s Filipem Pospíšilem k historii vlasaté mládeže nebo happeningům u Lennonovy zdi v Praze.[10] Nabízí se tedy zákonitě otázka, v čem je uvedená monografie inovativní, nahlíží na fenomén alternativní hudby odlišně, do kterých neprobádaných oblastí její vyprávění směřuje? Úvodem lze rovnou konstatovat, že kniha je přínosná zvláště původností interpretace,

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1 VLČEK, Josef – OPEKAR, Aleš. *Excentrici v přízemí.* Praha : Impuls, 1989. Publikace je hodna pozornosti i dodnes živým a atraktivním grafickým provedením.

2 ALAN, Josef (ed.) *Alternativní kultura: Příběh české společnosti 1945 – 1989*. Praha : Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2001.

3 VANĚK, Miroslav. Kytky v popelnici. Punk a nová vlna v Československu. In VANĚK, Miroslav a kol. *Ostrůvky svobody: Kulturní a občanské aktivity mladé generace v 80. letech v Československu.* Praha : Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR – Votobia, 2002, s. 175-235.

4 VANĚK, Miroslav. *Byl to jenom rock'n'roll? Hudební alternativa v komunistickém Československu 1956 – 1989.* Praha : Academia, 2010.

5 Srov. http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/specialy/bigbit/

6 LINDAUR, Vojtěch – KONRÁD, Ondřej. *Život v tahu aneb 30 roků rocku.* Praha : Tvorba, 1990.

7 FUCHS, Filip. *Kytary a řev aneb co bylo za zdí. Punk a hardcore v Československu před rokem 1989.* Praha : Papagájův Hlasatel, 2002.

8 CHADIMA, Mikoláš. *Alternativa Svědectví o českém rock & rollu sedmdesátých let (od rekvalifikací k „nové vlně se starým obsahem").* Brno : Host, 1993.

9 HOUDA, Přemysl. *Šafrán: Kniha o sdružení písničkářů.* Praha : Galén, 2008

10 POSPÍŠIL, Filip – BLAŽEK, Petr. *Vraťte nám vlasy: První máničky, vlasatci a hippies v komunistickém Československu.* Praha : Academia, 2011; BLAŽEK, Petr – LAUBE, Roman – POSPÍŠIL, Filip. *Lennonova zeď v Praze: Neformální shromáždění mládeže na Kampě.* Praha : Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2003.

reflexí neprávem opomíjených aspektů tvůrčích cest jednotlivých osobností scény nebo přímo i některých postav jako takových.

Pozičně za textem stojí autorka vystupující z dvojice polí. Jde jednak o autorku-antropoložku, čemu odpovídá metodologické ukotvení práce, rozpracovávající jednak etnomuzikologická východiska Bruno Nettla[11] nebo Allana Merriama[12], a jak ona uvádí, tak dále zacházela s terénně antropologickými zásadami Stone Sunteinové a Chiseri-Straterové[13] a cílila na spojení s co největším množstvím rozdílných pohledů (srov. s. 203). Potýkala se s problémem, že antropologie (ani hudební) necílí primárně na minulost, a tak voleným nástrojem k rekonstrukci a žádanému pohledu zpět je nakonec dominujícím způsobem zejména orální historie, posouvající práci k mikrohistorické perspektivě. Mimo důrazu na „malé dějiny", zprostředkování hlasu opomíjeným a jejich subjektivnosti je pro ni jednou z ústředních výzkumných otázek působení estetické zkušenosti na jedince, v tom vychází mimo jiné rovněž z Hanse-Georga Gadamera.[14] Zároveň však kromě toho Jonssonová v roce 1980 stála u zrodu hudební skupiny Plyn a následně důležitého souboru pražské klubové scény 80. let, kapely Dybbuk. Propojení dvojice perspektiv, vědkyně a současně aktivní aktérky – insiderky, s sebou jistě neslo řadu úskalí. Jonssonová také svou příslušnost k alternativnímu proudu otevřeně deklaruje, avšak zasvěcený osobní vhled i promyšlené výstavba i argumentace a zejména zjevně patrná poctivost autorčina přístupu svědčí o kombinaci více než funkční.

Úvodní část je souhrnné povahy, nicméně účelem je plně dostačující. Autorka abstrahuje zdařile podstatné a kapitoly jí slouží jako východisko dalšího výkladu, resp. k zasazení následujících biografických portrétů. Jonssonová cílí na obecnější souvislosti dobové situace a rekapituluje rámcově stěžejní dobové diskuse (např. odezvy Mikoláše Chadimy, Josefa Vlčka a Lubomíra Dorůžky v reakci na článek *Tribuny*). Zmiňuje význam kontaktů s britským hudebníkem Chrisem Cutlerem a společenstvím západoevropských kapel sdružených v Rock in Opposition, zaměřuje se na vztah neoficiální scény k programově odlišnému a staršímu undergroundu, na vztah profesionální a amatérské části hudebního spektra (*„postoj versus řemeslo"*, s. 31) a nemalý prostor věnuje aktivitám a významu Jazzové sekce. Ve spojitosti s tím se však výrazněji nevyjadřuje k pozdějším a eticky sporným otázkám vyvstalých s kontakty jejích vedoucích představitelů s StB. Odkazuje na literaturu k obou stranám sporu a deklaruje, že předmětem práce není rekonstruovat ani posuzovat jednotlivé verze kauzy spolupráce a zdůrazňuje zejména záměr poukázat na pozitivní úlohu např. Karla Srpa pro rozvoj alternativní scény (s. 44).[15] Ostatně v celé knize směřuje hledisko Jonssonové dominantně ke sféře

11 NETTL, Bruno. *Encounters in Ethnomusicology: A memoir.* Detroit : Harmonie Park Press, 2002; NETTL, Bruno. *Nettl´s Elephant: On the History of Ethnomusicology.* Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 2010.

12 MERRIAM, Alan P. *The antropology of music.* Evanston : Northwestern University Press, 1964.

13 STONE SUNSTEIN, Bonnie – CHISERI-STRATER, Elizabeth. *Field Working. Reading and Writing research.* Boston : Bedford/St. Martin´s, 2007.

14 GADAMER, Hans-Georg. *Pravda a metoda I. Nárys filosofické hermeneutiky.* Praha : Triáda, 2010.

15 K tématu Jazzové sekce souhrnně viz např.: KOUŘIL, Vladimír. *Jazzová sekce v čase a nečase 1971 – 1987.* Praha : Torst, 1999; TOMEK, Oldřich. Akce JAZZ. In TÁBORSKÝ, Jan (ed.) *Securitas Imperii 10: Sborník k dokumentaci vztahů čs. komunistického režimu k „vnitřnímu nepříteli".* Praha : Úřad dokumentace a vyšetřování zločinů komunismu, 2003, s. 240-332.

kulturní, nikoliv té mocenské, státně-institucionární apod. Z podstaty zvoleného přístupu ji tedy primárně nezajímají analýzy strategií režimu represivního charakteru směrem k non-konformním hudebním aktivitám, zákazů koncertů, rušení zřizovatelských smluv, postupu ze strany StB apod., v českém kontextu často již dobře zmapovanými např. Ústavem pro studium totalitních režimů a dalšími studiemi. Neznamená to však, že tyto strategie nejsou v textu přítomny. V knize dále zpovídaní aktéři se k urputným zákazům, komplikacím a snahám o možnost vyjádření vracejí opakovaně a z logiky tehdejší reality tak konflikty se státem a jeho úřady celkem přirozeně prostupují jako jedna z ústředních a přirozených linií. (Chadimova nebo Zajíčkova životní dráha jsou více než vypovídajícími doklady). Jen pro úplnost doplňuji, že v uvedené úvodní části zabývajícími se platformami je cenné a doposud nezpracované např. rovněž zmapování Hokkaido recording company (HRC) – společenství vydávající alba alternativně k oficiálním společnostem Supraphon a Panton – a jehož aktivity přibližuje zejména na základě rozhovorů s Václavem Křístkem, jedním ze zakladatelů a čelných postav HRC (Křístek stál režijně ve druhé polovině 90. let rovněž u zmiňovaného cyklu České televize *Bigbít*). Ve zkratce HRC fungovalo na bázi konceptu dočasných autonomních zón, užívalo vlastního neologického jazyka, anebo vydávalo post-punkový zin *Hokkaido news*.

Z hlediska tématu práce je pro úvodní část přirozeně klíčová definice „alternativy". Autorka odkazuje na hodnotově formující text kritika Josefa Vlčka *Úkoly české alternativní hudby* vydané ve *Zpravodaji devátých Pražských jazzových dnů* 1979. Osvětluje generační zkušenost části tehdejší mládeže hrát, vyjádřit se. Sociolog Jiří Svítek se vyslovoval o uvedené generaci jako o první, jež vyrostla v reálném socialismu, nebyla zasažena traumatem svých rodičů a rokem 1968 a s nastupující dospělostí se začala vůči žité skutečnosti specificky vymezovat. Ve spojitosti s amatérskými kapelami první poloviny 80. let hovoří nemalý počet muzikologů o tzv. české nové vlně. Navzdory dodnes trvajícím terminologickým nejasnostem kolem samotného pojmu lze konstatovat, že se jednalo o hudebně sice nesourodý proud neprofesionálních skupin, jež nicméně spojovalo časté užívání humoru a smíchových nebo sarkastických podob sdělení. Vyznačovaly se dále výstřední jevištní prezentaci, výraznými kostýmy a líčením, propojováním s divadelními a happeningovými formami. Mezi specifické rysy náležel v neposlední řadě rovněž intuitivní návrat k češtině jako volenému prostředku sdělení – na rozdíl od předtím idealizované angličtiny anebo instrumentálního hraní alternativních tvůrců 70. let, coby obranné strategie před výtkami k textům ze strany kulturních komisí. Český jazyk ve smyslu hravosti, jež nabízel, se projevil přirozeně jednak na úrovni textů, ale také i názvů skupin (Ještě jsme se nedohodli, Krásné nové stroje, Mama bubo, Třírychlostní pepíček, Jasná páka…). K uvedenému fenoménu se rekapitulačně vyjadřoval na úrovni programového eseje *Nová vlna – příběh dušičkový* již zmiňovaný Josef Vlček (*Excentrici v přízemí*, 1989). Směrem k soudobému zájemci je na místě i odkaz na unikátní filmový dokument *Hudba 85.* Jednalo se o dvouhodinový dokumentární film mapující zejména kapely pražské klubové scény, který v roce 1984 natočili tři filmoví a hudební nadšenci Alexej Guha, Vladislav Burda a Petr Ryba. Primárním záměrem, který sledovali, bylo uchovat

na film koncerty skupin, u nichž nebylo jisté, zda budou mít v budoucnu ještě šanci hrát, přičemž záznam plastickým způsobem zprostředkovává v rovině vystoupení zmiňovaných kapel i pokusů o videoklipy část tehdejší atmosféry i jejich tvůrčí originality.[16] Pamětnicko-hráčská zkušenost Jonssonové, ale i velké části nezávislé scény non-konformních kapel 80. let, a nakonec i záběru knihy samotné se s fenoménem tzv. nové vlny výrazně překrývají, nicméně autorka sleduje nakonec pole širší a cílí směrem ke komplexněji chápané hudební „alternativě". Tu vymezuje jako *„historický fenomén 80. let reagující na kritický stav populární kultury, způsobený cenzurou a ideologickými omezeními"* (s. 18). Z dílčích znaků jí přisuzuje dále charakteristiky, parafrázujme: Hudba vznikala v reakci na ohrožení a nesvobodu; užívání češtiny; inovativní poezie jdoucí za původní vzory; vlastní tvorba, osobitost a autenticita; žánrově široký záběr od experimentu, přes avantgardu k punku a reggae a dalším stylům ale vždy spojené s rockovou poetikou; alternativní dramaturgové; hudba se musela odlišovat od mainstreamu. Takové volnější hledisko jeví se jako šťastné, protože sice přesně vymezená, avšak dalšími kategoriemi přesto méně svázaná definice „alternativy" dává autorce rovněž širší prostor, a tak se do jejího výkladu vejdou i postavy typu undergroundového básníka Pavla Zajíčka, anebo autority tehdejší scény a výrazného inspirátora, kterým byl Mikoláš Chadima.

Samotným jádrem knihy (obsaženým ostatně i v jejím názvu) je pak jednoznačně devět sond do hudebního života, resp. devět biografických mikroportrétů jeho čelných postav vystavěných na rozhovorech. Autorka upozorňuje na vědomou subjektivnost při jejich výběru (s. 201). Dle pořadí v knize dané výstavbou celkové argumentace je výslednicí výčet: Pavel Richter, Miroslav Wanek, Karel Babuljak, Pavel Zajíček, Mikoláš Chadima, Petr Váša, Marka Míková, Oldřich Janota a skupina Ženy. Před realizací domluvených interview zemřeli Filip Topol (Psí vojáci) anebo Zdeněk Lorenz (industriální OZW). Užitou metodou volila orálně-historické formy životopisných vyprávění, což lze v současné době oborově označit za upřednostňovaný přístup, a přestože nelze generalizovat, přepouští orální historie strukturované tematické tázání spíše poli publicistiky. Z rozhovorů pak autorka skládala vlastní biografická vyprávění, kdy z hlediska struktury rámují její hlavní text citace zejména částí užitých výpovědí. Výhody výše uvedené insiderské pozice autorky se zde projevila zejména v důvěře narátorů plynoucích z osobních, často mnoholetých vazeb. Rozhovory doplnila dochovanými prameny, často fanziny, plakáty, pracovala s dobovými nahrávkami a záznamy. Z hlediska sledovaného působení estetické zkušenosti na jedince směřuje výklad u všech ke konkrétnímu tvůrčímu subjektu, interpretovi, ale je zároveň prokládán kontextualizačními a zobecňujícími exkurzy do dějin umění.

V rámci portrétovaných osobností nelze než s povděkem kvitovat kapitolu věnovanou Miroslavu Wanekovi, jednak zakladateli punkových F.P.B. (jazyková hříčka Fourth price band, čtvrtá cenová skupina odkazující na nejnižší kvalitativní kategorii někdejšího pohostinství), ale v současnosti zejména vedoucí postavě

16 Dokument vyšel na DVD: *Hudba 85*. Praha : Levné knihy, 2005.

skupiny Už jsme doma (UJD). Zejména proto, že těžko bychom hledali v českém kontextu z hlediska experimentální invence zajímavější a zároveň s tím rovněž i ve světě úspěšnější kapelu, než jsou právě původně severočeští UJD. Jedna z nejoriginálnějších českých skupin, jež je zároveň žánrově jen obtížně zařaditelná – klasifikace oscilují jen velmi volně kolem kategorií jako avantgardní nebo intelektuální punk, jazz-punk, post-punk, progressive a alternative rock – koncertuje aktivně dodnes a má své posluchače kromě těch domácích a z Evropy rovněž v USA (více než dvě desítky koncertních turné) nebo Japonsku. Navzdory významu UJD je s podivem, že ani na poli historiografie nebo hudebních věd a dalších příbuzných oborů nevznikla dosud monografie, jež by se komplexním způsobem zaměřila na existenci uvedené skupiny. Existují sice dílčí práce a antologie textů, z nichž nejvýznamnější je patrně souborný textový výbor doplněný několika interview *Výlov šuplíka*[17], nicméně relevantní souhrnná práce zde doposud schází. Jonssonová, sice na malém prostoru srovnatelném s ostatními portrétovanými, přesto takový vhled zprostředkovala.

Za vývojem Wanekova svébytného tvůrčího rukopisu nalézá spojnice s předválečnou avantgardou, konkrétně dadaismem, surrealismem i expresionismem. Ve spojení s punkem upozorňuje na jeho překračování limitů punkové jednoduchosti (zhudebňovali např. Kafku) i na celkový přístup, kdy hudbu vnímal jako nástroj, jak zprostředkovat poezii. Okazuje rovněž na brikoláž Claude-Lévi Strausse, ve smyslu použití nalezených materiálů a jejich nového invenčního poskládání, v kontextu punku projevující se např. ve vizualizaci a vnějších znacích punkového rebelství (řetězy, špendlíky, přeneseně účesy, divoký tanec pogo) a upozorňuje v rámci toho jednak na Wanekovu originalitu a dále i proměny v jeho uměleckém přístupu, směřujícímu od původní brikoláže až k současnému tvůrčímu perfekcionismu. Výrazně přínosnou je rovněž část cílící na Wanekem spoluzaložené a dnes již částečně pozapomenuté patafyzické kolegium – společně např. s básnířkou Svatavou Antošovou nebo literátem Eduardem Vackem vydávali časopis *PAKO* a Jarryho program se stal nakonec širším myšlenkovým rámcem Waneka i větší skupiny umělců sdružených kolem kolegia s četnými následovníky.[18] Vlček označil v dokumentu *Hudba 85* za hlavní město československého punku severočeské Teplice. Na pozadí ekologicky zdevastovaného regionu lze za estetickou zkušeností nalézat rovněž anglický punkový slogan *„No future“*, avšak u Waneka v nikoliv nihilistickém významu, ale v jeho obrácení a smyslu pozitivního programu vedoucího k nápravě. Po jeho občanském angažování v roce 1989 pokračoval hudebně se stále úspěšnějšími UJD a také i producentsky směrem k dalším skupinám (např. i Dybbuku). Na uvedeném místě Jonssonová zároveň výrazně plasticky ilustruje proměny a specifika domácí scény po roce 1989, kdy se hlad po alternativě u publika spojoval s krátkodobou přízní nahrávacích společností, jež vstupovaly na rodící se trh, a kdy prvotní euforii střídala postupně jistá deziluze spojená s komercionalizací prostředí a návratem dominujícího středního proudu.

17 WANEK, Miroslav. V*ýlov šuplíka. FPB. Už jsme doma.* Editoval Jaroslav Riedel. Praha : Maťa, 2012.

18 Vackovu reflexi uvedených aktivit vedoucích v roce 1986 nakonec až k jeho absurdnímu uvěznění viz rovněž např. v pamětnickém textu: VACEK, Eduard. *Československá patafyzická republika*. Webová platforma Revue Babylon, https://babylonrevue.cz/kukacci-vejce/.

Pakliže autorka uvádí v závěru předmluvy, že *„kniha má přispět k zachycení té doby“* (s. 10), tak zejména právě i uvedený vhled do porevoluční praxe je neméně cenný a výrazně obohacující.

U energického hudebníka, „fyzického“ básníka a performera Petra Váši lze inspirační zdroje vysledovat jednak z širokého pole utvářeného jeho vysokoškolským studiem dějin umění (gotické umění, Picasso, česká moderna, kubisté Čapek s Kubištou a další) ale rovněž vliv intelektuální rodiny (dědečkova disertace o Březinovi a Nietzschem) a dále vlivy rockové (Rolling stones, z domácích Jasná páka…), nebo i folk-rockové (Mišík). Podobně určující jako v případě Jonssonové označoval vliv bezprostředního okolí hudební komunity. Vášovy skupiny Z kopce a (po zákazu) později Ošklid vzešly z brněnské scény, za jejíž klíčovou postavu platila vedoucí klubu Musilka a organizátorka tamějšího dění Lenka Zogatová.[19]

Se skupinou Z kopce rozpracovával Váša na samém konci 80. let koncept nudy, nicméně způsobem, jak on sám napsal, aby se písničky o nudě lidem líbily. Jako příznačná se jeví reakce vedoucího tajemníka Jihomoravského kraje: *„My to tady čtyřicet let budujeme a oni se nudí“*, dokládající skutečnost, že zdánlivě odosobněné hledisko, komentování nudy nezúčastněným jazykem ve stylu bezobsažných proklamací z *Rudého práva*, bylo novou originální strategií, již na rozdíl od přímé kritiky režimu bylo obtížné zakazovat (s. 151). Zároveň je uvedená kapitola částí výrazně odhalující vnější limity pro existenci a prosazení tvůrčí svobody na pozadí s „perestrojkovým“ pnutím a od něj odvislých změn, jež rozhýbávaly rovněž výrazné postavy z řad organizátorů, hudebních publicistů a teoretiků a dalších nadšenců. Dokladem a charakteristickým fenoménem druhé poloviny 80. let byl tak např. festival Rockfest. Organizován byl pod záštitou SSM (Socialistický svaz mládeže), přičemž dějiště jeho finální přehlídkové části pro rockovou hudbu tak netypické, jako byl zvolený Palác kultury v Praze, jako by pro uvedenou dobu symbolicky odráželo veškeré absurdity a rozpory ve vztahu sféry kulturní s tou mocenskou. Festival odpovídal někdejšímu obratu *„dát rocku zelenou“* a zjevné reflexi nejvyšších míst, že pakliže selhaly pokusy stále rostoucí živelnou popularitu nezávislé hudby potlačit, bude alespoň učiněn pokus o její kontrolované usměrnění. Uvedené snahy byly však zároveň souběžně nabourávány např. tím, že hned pro první ročník 1986 se stali dramaturgy Rockfestu právě Zogatová s Vlčkem a Lindaurem, kteří se rozhodli využít festivalu k legalizaci alternativní kultury jako takové. Z kopce po jejich intervencích směrem k organizátorům na uvedeném ročníku nejenže vystoupili, ale nakonec i zvítězili, co o rok později zopakoval Váša i se skupinou Ošklid. Před pokračujícími postihy se jej jakožto vítěze zastal Mladý svět a oporu nalezl posléze i na stránkách *Melodie* a *Gramorevue*. Skupině nakonec vyšla u Pantonu EP v edici *Rock debut* a v roce 1989 se Zogatové podařilo prosadit i vydání LP. Všem biografickým črtám v knize je společné

19 Zogatová proslula mimo jiné pořádáním festivalových Valných hromad nebo také např. v roce 1985 úspěšně utajeným koncertem Nico, původně západoněmecké zpěvačky skupiny Velvet underground, o jehož zopakování se následně pokusil i tehdy dramaturg pražského kulturního domu Opatov Vojtěch Lindaur, avšak již se zásahem veřejné bezpečnosti, načež byl koncert ukončen a Lindaur byl z Opatova propuštěn. Kauzu obou vystoupení podrobně zpracovala historička Hana Zimmerhaklová (ZIMMERHAKLOVÁ, Hana. Nico, legenda hudebního undergroundu, v Brně a v Praze: Ke koncertování zahraničních hudebníků v komunistickém Československu. In *Soudobé dějiny*, 2011, roč. 18, č. 3, s. 414-436).

nápadité pointování jednotlivých částí i jejich promyšlené propojování do větších celků. U Váši, vykonávajícího aktuálně základní vojenskou službu, náleží k takovým funkčním rozzuzlením např. zakupování uvedených časopisů s pochvalnými recenzemi Jiřího Černého a Vojtěcha Lindaura, anebo situace, kde popisuje: *„Seděli jsme v hospodě a z rádia se ozvalo: Jde to všechno nějak z kopce […]. To slyšet z komunistického rádia, říkali jsme si, to bude revoluce…“* (s. 147). V 90. letech se Váša profiloval zejména performersky[20] a od konce dekády opět i hudebně s dodnes existující skupinou Ty syčáci.

Přestože v případě undergroundu lze hovořit díky jeho přímé spojitosti se vznikem Charty 77 a následné provázanosti s politickým disentem o tématu, na něž se domácí historiografie od 90. let zaměřila již více než zevrubně, tak rovněž v případě Pavla Zajíčka přichází Jonssonová s původní interpretací portrétovaného. Hudebník, textař, básník a společně s Milanem Hlavsou spoluzakladatel skupiny DG 307, je postavou nahlíženou příznivci hnutí v mnohém jako legendární. Autorka jej vykresluje opět směrem k postižení jeho dílčích tvůrčích zdrojů a inspirací, k nimž kromě undergroundových východisek, Jirousových a Bondyho textů patřily rovněž i surrealismus, dada a také víra. Skutečnosti, že Zajíček náležel v rámci tzv. Pražského procesu z roku 1976 ke skupině odsouzených, stejně jako to, že po svém propuštění byl již jako signatář Charty 77 vystaven tlaku StB v rámci akce „Asanace“ a nakonec volil cestu nucené emigrace, jsou dostatečně známy. Hodné pozornosti je však zprostředkování Zajíčkovy desetileté zkušenosti s exilem (odešel do Švédska a později do New Yorku) a dále obtížím s jeho porevolučním návratem. Autorka dává Zajíčkovi prostor vyjádřit se k pocitům vzájemného odcizení a neporozumění ve vztahu subjekt, emigrant – domov, domácímu ignorování života ve vyhnanství a v důsledku ústícímu i do neschopnosti jedince k okamžitému návratu zpět do vlasti, k nemožnosti kontinuálního navázání. Autorka nalézá styčné plochy s Kunderovým antioddyseovským mýtem (román *Ignorance*, 1999) a rozvádí jej šířeji k zobecněním emigračního prožitku. Uvedené osobní Zajíčkovo trauma vystupuje tak jako jeden z ústředních motivů jeho portrétu a otevřeností i subjektivitou sdělovaného dodává výpovědi nemalé síly (zejm. s. 117-119).

Podobně jako u Zajíčka, tak rovněž portrét Marky Míkové figuruje v pozici jednoho z nejintimnějších, dáno osobní vazbou k autorce jako spoluhráčce z jedné skupiny. Není bez zajímavosti, že hraní v rockové kapele Míková, rovněž loutkoherečka a režisérka, definovala jako jeden ze způsobů obranné strategie před pozorností veřejnosti po její roli ve filmové pohádce. Kapitola se dále přirozeně výrazně překrývá s kapelou Dybbuk, kde se jako v nesčetných dalších případech jednalo rovněž o původně amatérskou skupinu, a to nikoliv jen ve smyslu úředním, tedy neprofesionální bez nároku na honorář – ale amatérskou také i z hlediska počátečních instrumentálních nedostatků kombinovaných však s hráčským

20 Věnoval se tzv. fyzickému básnictví. Autor popisuje jím uplatňovaný „žánr“ v učebnicové a manifestové podobě: VÁŠA, Petr. *Fyzické básnictví*. Brno : Host, 2011.

nadšením, entuziasmem a důrazem na autenticitu vyjádření. Se zjevně punkovými kořeny se skupina vyznačovala syrovým zvukem i neotřelou poetikou a jevištní prezentací. Skupina, jejíž styl žánrově charakterizoval např. Vojtěch Lindaur jako *„nadrzlou kytarovku",* byla však dále hodna pozornosti ještě z jednoho hlediska: Jednalo se totiž člensky o čistě dívčí těleso, čemuž odpovídala také i část jejího textového záběru anebo specifického výraziva (např. písně *Paní I. – III.*, *Ale čert to vem*, *Rebelka bez příčiny*, a další). S přibývajícími zkušenostmi se zvuk kapely tříbil, jako v případě jiných se stával vyzrálejším a kapela existovala ve významné pozici místní scény až roku 1988, kdy část hudebnic přešlo do stylově již odlišného souboru Panika. Po roce 1989 vydal Dybbuk souhrnné album své někdejší tvorby (*Poletíme, ale čert to vem*, 1991) a v obnovené sestavě realizovala skupina počátkem 90. let rovněž rozsáhlé koncertní turné. S personálními obměnami vystupuje aktivně jádro skupiny dodnes pod názvem Zuby nehty.

Navzdory proklamativní distanci členek Dybbuku vůči západní ženské alternativní scéně, lze přesto vysledovat intuitivní spojitost s punkovým obratem ve smyslu prosazení žen – interpretek a odlišnosti rolí, jež zaujímaly. Tedy v posunu zpěvačky – objektu od jen vnějškově reflektovaného do pozice aktivního subjektu, v důrazu směrem ke sdělovanému, v odmítnutí žádaného ideálu krásy určovaného módními žurnály. Redefinování kategorie feminity bylo zjevně zároveň v určitém napětí s připisovanou ženskou identitou Dybbuku (anebo analogicky západních skupin jako např. The Slits anebo The Raincoats). Autorka se tak nakonec vyjadřuje k jednomu z citelných neuralgických bodů jejich existence, totiž stereotypním klasifikacím, resp. tomu že členky se musely potýkat s referencemi, že se jedná o „ženskou, dívčí, dámskou" skupinu. Ve vztahu k tomuto problematickému hledisku jsou pak výrazně vypovídající citovaná korektivní vyjádření Petra Váši anebo Miroslava Waneka.

Není v možnostech ani ambicí textu vyjádřit se souhrnně ke všem, a tak se omezí v případě portrétu tak významné postavy, jakým byl „rebel" Mikoláš Chadima (aktivista Jazzové sekce, signatář Charty 77, lídr Extempore a MCH bandu) na lakonické konstatování jeho zcela zásadního vlivu směrem k tehdy mladším souputníkům. A dále z „méně známých": Podobně jako Chadima byl i Oldřich Janota, zejména pro svou poezii, vnímán v pozici výrazného inspirátora amatérských tvůrců. Janotův symbolický jazyk, folk ovlivněný duchovními zdroji a archetypálními vyprávěními i hudební minimalismus a experiment směřovaly Janotu do pozice, kdy v širším povědomí zůstával po většinu své tvůrčí dráhy však v jistém pozadí – spíše s komornějším projevem a s tím spojenou i nemasovou účastí publika. Jeho do určité míry okrajové postavení ve vztahu k široké komunitě posluchačů nabourává tak poněkud paradoxně i jeho patrně veřejně nejznámější počin, kterým se stala píseň Zrychlený vlak. Málo známou skutečností je totiž to, že jako původně Janotovu ji převzala a následně v taneční podobě i zpopularizovala skupina Mňága a Žďorp, přičemž skladba se stala posléze i jednou z klíčových v celkové tvorbě kapely. Jonssonová uvádí Janotovu reflexi pozadí jejího

vzniku: *„Byla to reakce na dobu po Chartě. Ta píseň bylo o tom, že když jsou cíle znemožněný, i cesta sama o sobě je velikým cílem, že pojďme hrdě s hlavou vztyčenou.“* Z textu vystupuje i v tomto případě pozměněná domácí hudební realita po roce 1989 i obecnější trend posunu v chápání významu s ohledem na okolní kontext. K tomu Janota dodával: *„Proslavila se proto, že jí Petr Fiala vtiskl ten taneční charakter, zjednodušil ji. A to je model, co rádio v Čechách může přijmout, nemůže přijmout něco, co by posluchače zavádělo někam do nitra, neznepokojovat* […] *Ani to lidé nevědí, že jsem autor, ale mě to stačí, to hrdé vědomí.“* (s. 184).

Janota spolupracoval rovněž s dalším z portrétovaných, Pavlem Richterem, výborným kytarovým hráčem skupin Elektrobus, Stehlík a Švehlík. Z Richterových hudebních experimentů směřujících k psychedelické hudbě vzešly přelomové projekty domácí alternativy jako např. *Sny psychopatického děcka* (Švehlík) anebo pokusy s elektronickým zvukem. Ve druhé polovině 80. let hrál jednak s brněnskou skupinou Dunaj, ale také po odklonu od rockové hudby figuroval jako zásadní průkopník ethno a world music. Jak autorka zdůrazňuje, Richterův vývoj proběhl v situaci bez dostupných nástrojů a techniky a bez kontaktu se světem. A to samé lze konstatovat rovněž v rámci další kapitoly a osoby, kdy obdobně Karel Babuljak (společně s Alešem Drvotou a Jiřím Charyparem) a skupinou Babalet stali se průkopníky reggae u nás, resp. jejich paralelní projekt Mama bubo (hlavně cíleným užíváním syntetizátorů) zcela novátorským souborem na poli elektronické hudby. Zejména v popisu počátků reggae jde o pole historickým výzkumem rovněž dosud zásadním způsobem nedotčené.

Knihu uzavírá biografie skupiny Ženy, vystavěná na interview se Zdeňkem Novákem (alias „Hmyzákem“) a Petrem Chourou (zvaným „Záchod“), dříve rovněž výrazně excentrickým tanečníkem novovlnné skupiny Krásné nové stroje. Do popředí se tu dostávají happening a nevážnost Žen a v uvedeném případě mozaiku celkového obrazu scény dotváří také značné množství dokreslujících situací a popisovaných konkrétních zážitků, často nemálo úsměvných. V tomto ohledu sice intenzita textu spočívá rovněž v detailu, ale zaměřovat se jen na ně by bylo pohledem zjevně zavádějícím. V rámci zprostředkovaných extravagancí se totiž nejedná jen o sled zdánlivě prvoplánových hospodských příhod, jak by se zdánlivě mohlo jevit. Obraz vyrůstá a Jonssonová jej vykresluje i v tomto případě na výrazně intelektuálních kořenech skupiny i obou jejích členů.

Závěrečné shrnutí je tedy takové, že těžiště práce leží v souladu s jejím názvem v 80. letech, nicméně četné přesahy vedoucí výklad do dekády porevoluční jí dodávají výraznou přidanou hodnotu. Jazyk knihy je kultivovaný, na přehledových místech autorka funkčně pracuje se zkratkou a narace i celek směřují k dílčím pointám i přesvědčivým závěrům. Zároveň se však stylově jazyk knihy vyznačuje značnou čtivostí a poutavostí. K výrazným kladům náleží pak jednak její faktický a dokumentární přínos a dále zejména rekonstrukce kulturních, nezřídka avantgardních a dalších vlivů pro tvorbu sledovaných osobností, výzkumem často dosud zcela nepostižených, jež Pavla Jonssonová zároveň umísťuje do kontextu

s širší nebo zahraniční uměleckou i kulturně-historickou tradicí. Lze tak bez výhrad konstatovat, že kniha *Devět z české hudební alternativy* je komplexně promyšlenou a originální studií s výrazně obohacujícím a podrobným vhledem do zákulisí části české nezávislé hudební scény 80. let a pro jakýkoliv další výzkum této scény se jednoznačně zařadí mezi korpus základních referenčních prací, jež při seriózním přístupu k tématu nelze ignorovat.

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