

Edited by Jan Charvát
and Anna Oravcová

OUT OF STEP

Politics and Subcultures
in the Post-Socialist Space



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An Italian HC Frontman Melded into Czechoslovakia

Giuseppe Maiello and Martina Cichá

Carlo Levi, Simon Wiesenthal, Arnošt Lustig, Varlam Shalamov, and many others seem to suggest to us that certain experiences are impossible to transmit. Marshall McLuhan and many others then taught us that our world remains ours for our whole lives. There is therefore no doubt that such a specific narrative, despite all our efforts, can ever be fully transferred in all its meaning. However, it can represent not only another of the many case studies of modern qualitative research, but also an important element in the reconstruction of the transfer of experience between Western subcultures and those which are now defined as ‘post-socialist’.

Hardcore punk (HC) is a well known radical form of punk rock, characterized by the speed of its execution and political texts, ranging from pacifist anarchism, insurgency, and even reaching (in the Italian case) autonomist Marxism as well. The deep roots of HC are from the Southern California punk scene,⁵ but like the speed of its rhythms, HC soon reached England in the early eighties before spreading to the rest of Europe.

Italian hardcore has its ‘founding myth’: on 1 June 1980 (Nozza 2011), the British punk band The Clash was booed in the city of Bologna, where it had come to play by invitation of the Italian Communist Party. The Clash are defined without mincing words as ‘whores’, not only for having accepted the invitation of the city administration, firmly in the hands of the Communist Party, but, indeed, also for having signed a contract with the US multinational label CBS (see interview with Helena Velena in Ras-

5 In the first complete book dealing directly with Californian HC, the authors define San Francisco and Los Angeles punks as ‘anti-institutional’ in their essence (Belsito and Davis 1983: 7). According to Steven Blush (2001: 18), the term HC refers to ‘an extreme: the most absolute Punk’. Both definitions are also well accepted by us.

telli 2005). The spokesman of the Bolognese punks, Giampaolo Giorgetti, well known at that time as Jumpy Vena and today as the transwoman Helena Vena, referred to the second record of Crass, the English anarcho-pacifist punk band that had harshly attacked The Clash because of their lack of political coherence:⁶

At that time, I was just moving away from the freak (hippy) aesthetics. It happens in an instant—you read a culture or a music magazine and understand that people who once represented a political and cultural vanguard have now sold out to the system. So, you decide to follow new wave as quickly as possible. The occasion was one of the first new wave concerts in my town. I decided to cut my long hair. When I arrived at the concert, all my friends thought I had gone crazy. Someone asked me, ‘did you become a fascist?’ just because I had cut my long hair. (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 27 April 2016)

Pippo,⁷ the future Underage lead singer, had already been politically active for seven years at that time, with a militancy called, from the emic perspective, the revolutionary left—or extreme left politics, as it is generally called (Cosseron 2007: 20).

The end of the seventies used to be called ‘Ebb Tide’ in Italy. The revolutionary wave was dying, and the music offered little consolation. (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 27 April 2016)

It is clear that in such a situation, new wave music was still insufficient to express the new desires of the spontaneous subjectivities which emerged from the clashes between demonstrators and

6 The text of the Crass song entitled ‘White Punks On Hope’ starts with the following words: ‘They said that we were trash, well the name is Crass, not Clash / They can stuff their punk credentials ‘cause it’s them that take the cash’ (Crass 1979).

7 ‘Pippo’ was, at that time, the nickname of one of the authors of the present chapter. Because the interviews were led by the second author, we do not consider our contribution as a typical example of autoethnography.



Aesthetic of Punk (Giuseppe Maiello)

police in the years 1976–79,⁸ even under circumstances when new wave, in the beginning, had staked out a distinctly alternative position to other musical genres, acquiring much of the first wave of seventies' punk rock (Gendron 2002: 269–270).

In order to plunge himself into HC, Pippo only needed the right opportunity. This supervened on 8 October 1981, when Jello Biafra's Dead Kennedys from California came to Rome for a public performance.

In the middle of the gig, during a break, I met a guy from my city who was putting together a hardcore band. We swapped phone numbers with the hope that one day we would meet each other. (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 27 April 2016)

The band was actually formed within a few weeks and was named Underage, 'the first Neapolitan punk band and one of the first in Italy' (Torre 2013: 15). However, Pippo only joined it in August 1982, contributing even more to the radicalization, in a political sense, of the texts and activities of the band (see Morgera 2018).

Thanks to Underage, I could once again be fully involved in politics but on a completely new level. I was able to find very radicalized political subjects who could, unlike the comrades of previous years, manifest their revolt not only in political acts but also in individual acts. The personal had finally become political, and I was in it up to my neck! (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 28 April 2016)

The Italian punk movement of the early 1980s was highly politicized and much influenced in its manner of creation by autonomism, which was, at that time, in the process of a net decrease.⁹ Be-

8 More recently, Toni Negri, opening a remote discussion with Ernesto Laclau, posed the question as to whether social subjectivities are able to organize themselves spontaneously or whether they should be organized (Negri 2015).

9 The roots of autonomism are from early sixties Italy. The golden age of worker's autonomy, as autonomism was called at that time, was in the second half of the seventies when students, workers, and other precarious social subjects were

sides fanzines, where musical and political discussions mingled, punks began to occupy uninhabited buildings and build autonomous social centres based on the Berlin model, especially in the cities of northern Italy. The most famous of these was Virus, established in February 1982 at Via Correggio 18 in Milan, which, after several forced evictions and displacements, permanently ceased its activities in 1987.

The occupants of Virus, in collaboration with a group of young filmmakers from an experimental audiovisual school, managed to make a 16mm documentary film that was disseminated widely—before the Internet era—thanks to VHS cassette copies. This was one of the main visual and audio documents that helped to spread the idea of punk participation in the squatting movement (Virus 1982), an idea that is well-established across Europe today, including central ‘post-socialist’ Europe.

Starting with the so-called *Spring Offensive*, which was a festival of Italian HC held in April 1982 in Virus, the whole of northern Italy became a continuous swarm of concerts and squatting attempts, accompanied by repressive action by the police. On 1 August 1982, in the Dolomite village of Lentiai after a night of hardcore music, the leading figures of Italian punk held a meeting at which it was decided to create a fanzine that would cover the entire Italian peninsula. The fanzine, called *Punkaminazione*, represented ‘the first and unique example of the punk network pre-internet’ in Italy (Nozza 2011) after its first issue release in September 1982.

In the same year, another HC fanzine was founded in San Francisco, called *Maximumrocknroll* (abbreviated as MRR), which spread throughout the Western world as it was written in English. The fanzine paid particular attention to the Italian scene, which was considered a source of inspiration not only for European but also American musical and political groups.¹⁰

able to stand up to the repressive apparatus of the State. For a history of European autonomism in the English language, see Katsiaficas (2006).

¹⁰ Underage were, for example, included in the *MRR* ‘play list’ with other groups such as Agnostic Front, Crucifix, The Exploited, Icons of Filth, One Way System, Reality Control, and Mayhem. The reviewer defined Underage

Alongside these initiatives, however, Italian punks began to also participate in marches and street demonstrations, in some cases becoming the main protagonists; as was the case in the attempted occupation of the Comiso military base in Sicily in July of 1983.¹¹

At Comiso, I met the Crass, who had come to help out against the Americans. I saw my old friends from Virus there and saved Alfredo Bonanno's skin when he fled the police charge, dragging him inside a camper van belonging to the French TV crew. The crew made a report on our entire event, but the journalist who was driving, Patrick Zerbib, was severely beaten by the police during the charge. Something was saved, including a video interview with me.¹² I never saw Patrick or his sister Corinne again. They came out with various bruises. The evening before the police charge, some masked guys also came to our house and shot at us with a 7.65 calibre gun. The matter, however, was very strange because there was a lot of fear but no injuries, so many then suspected that the same Bonanno organized the staging of it. Maybe just to create a media case and/or to galvanize us. But I never believed in these types of hidden tactics. I have seen Czech politicians using the same hidden tactics, although not in the extreme way of the Sicilians—shooting at you . . . (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 5 March 2016)

using these words: 'The most applicable adjectives here are rhythmic, savage and raw. This is mainly a fast-paced thrash which is driven by steady drumming and topped off with a totally fuzzed-out guitar and insistent, intense singing. The Underage are an anarchist band and, judging from this, have an abundance of commitment. Excellent' (Yohannon 1983).

11 This attempt was organized in a very clumsy way by the well known theorist of contemporary insurrectionary anarchism, Alfredo M. Bonanno. A written testimony of the Comiso events and of the police brutality against the demonstrators was reported by the German journalist Michael Sontheimer (1984). Other testimonies of Comiso have been collected in *Costretti a sanguinare*, an autobiographical novel created in 1997 by Marco Philopat, a founder of Virus in Milan (Philopat 1997).

12 This is the documentary film *Punks-Spaguettis*, released in French in 1989 (Zerbib and Zerbib 1989).



The cover of Underage Cassette (Giuseppe Maiello)

The summer of 1983 is also the first time that Pippo visited Czechoslovakia, just after the demonstrations at Comiso. His way of dealing with things was still imbued with anarchism but also with strong and fresh memories of autonomist Marxism.¹³ The autonomists denoted states that, at that time, were called ‘socialist’ with various terminologies seeking to emphasize the fact that these states did not have anything to do with socialism, and much less so with communism. One of the terms used to define the economic and political system of these countries was ‘state capitalism’. It was thus assumed to be a kind of leftist criticism that had been elaborated in detail by Amadeo Bordiga (see, for example, Bordiga 1966). The criticism from the left of regimes which called themselves ‘socialist’ had always been very limited because of the predominant role of the communist parties derived from the Third International within the European left. Instead, in Czechoslovakia, the most visible was a kind of lesser intellectual criticism, supported by the United States and European anti-communism parties. This type of political position continued to thrive even after 1989, crystallizing into what is defined today in various sectors on the Czech left as ‘primitive anti-communism’.¹⁴

In August 1983, I spent three weeks in Brno and two weekends in Prague. In Brno, I could not find even one single punk. The only ones who considered themselves alternative radicals were the guys with long hair. I had extensive discussions with those few who spoke English. I also tried to use my insufficient Russian and my very limited knowledge of the Czech language. I could agree on some criticism of their regimes. But, for me, it was annoying, the apology they were

13 A few days before the demonstration at Comiso, a red vinyl record by Underage came out in Bologna. The spirit of autonomism of that time is strongly present in the song ‘Tre settembre’. The song recalled the Mafia murder of the Carabinieri General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa. In March of 1980, he commanded an anti-Red Brigades operation, in which four militants of these extremist organizations were killed. A slogan borrowed from the autonomous demonstrations of that time in Italy is quoted in the text of ‘Tre settembre’: *‘Piombo hai seminato e piombo hai ricevuto* [You sow bullets, you gather bullets]’ (Underage 1983).

14 Among those who also use this expression is the former leader of the Czech Green Party Matěj Stropnický (see Hoření 2014).

making for the Western system. They spoke well even of the USA which, for a person of my generation, or at least of the social group I had grown up in, was totally inconceivable. Similarly, for them it was inconceivable when I explained that police in Italy attacked and beat us just for the fact that we were dressed in a strange way. In Prague, I began looking for the punks. I found them within a few hours in a district called 'Kampa', where someone told me they used to gather. The Prague punks still had the Sex Pistols style: studs on faux leather jackets and pins in the mouth. None of them spoke any language other than Czech, but they welcomed me amongst them without any problems. It seemed to me that, somehow, they were connected with the underworld of Wenceslas Square, because a girl got a bunch of money from a porter at the Yalta Hotel and then paid for our drinks for two days in a row. I think that their political views were not very distinguished from those of the Brno hippies, but at least the punks from Prague seemed to understand that Western punks were also in radical opposition to their regimes. (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 28 April 2016)

The heyday of Italian HC faded out after the first half of the eighties. The autonomist Marxism, originally from Italy, had spread in the meantime but took different, more libertarian forms, especially in West Germany. The Berlin district of Kreuzberg, which at the time was located on the eastern outskirts of the western part of the city, was a swarm of self-managed centres and occupied houses (squats). The Italian punks interacted with the German punk scene through concerts and the exchange of experiences, culminating in their participation at the II. Chaos tag (Chaos Day) in Hannover on 2 August 1984..

Many Italian punks of that generation moved abroad, particularly to England, Germany, or the United States. Our interviewee chose Czechoslovakia, where the news coming from the Western world was carefully filtered at that time and, often, distorted in an extreme manner.

I was looking for a place geographically close to that in which my

family still lived but culturally distinct. Thanks to full immersion in the Prague student world, my Czech improved visibly, in that I could understand television programmes. But I was absolutely shocked by the conduct of Czechoslovak television, when in a report about neo-Nazism in Western Europe they showed images of punks and German autonomists as if they were neo-Nazis. Crazy! I never understood if it was ignorance or something designed to discredit the critical left. (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 27 April 2016)

Meanwhile, despite this, a true British-style punk band had arisen in Prague: Plexis P.M.¹⁵

It was 1985. On one of my first nights, I was wandering through Prague when I came across a group of punks. They looked at me and wondered if I was a punk or not because, by that time, many of my extreme aesthetic attributes were disappearing. I understood from their crests what kind of groups they were inspired by. . . . I screamed out: 'The Exploited'. And then they answered in unison: 'Barmy Army!' Among them was Peter Hošek and other members of Plexis. Then, in Stará Lysá nad Labem, they invited me on the stage and I sang a song by an Italian band with them as well.¹⁶ But then I stopped following both their destinies and the destiny of punk in general. Finally, one day I went to the coffee house Slavie, where the punks sat, and I gave them some EPs (extended play records) by Italian HC groups. I remember that the punks jumped on those vinyl records as if they were starving cats. (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 28 April 2016)

At that time, there were other punk bands performing in Prague such as Visací zámek, Tři sestry, and HNF of the Moravian town of Jihlava.

15 According to the founder of Plexis P.M., the name came from some letters included in the names of the British bands Sex Pistols and The Exploited. The abbreviation P.M. meant Punk Music (Svítivý 1999; comp. Fuchs 2002: 46)

16 The episode is narrated by Filip Fuchs (52), who defines the event as 'one of the most famous concerts in the history of Czech punk' (50). It was a concert featuring rock bands held in the Czech village of Stará Lysá nad Labem on 6 September 1985.

I didn't use to go to punk performances, and I had no punk friends. It seemed to me that the music was too mixed with a strange kind of melody I called 'anti-socialist sad rock'. But the main problem for me was the poor political commitment of Czech punks, which was limited to the generic anti-communism style of Prague, but nothing more. . . . (Interview with Pippo, Prague, 4 March 2018)

It was necessary to wait until the nineties to observe a radicalization in the libertarian sense within the Czechs' antagonistic social groups.

Before the revolution [in 1989] punks had made friends with Nazis, in the Nazi skinhead sense. There were few Nazis in Czechoslovakia, so they used to sit together with the punks in the pubs. (Interview with Radka, Prague, 11 March 2018)

I remember that in the beginning the Communists saw punk as a positive phenomenon, at least while it was confined just to England. Then, as soon as the first punks appeared here, they reacted very harshly, although with some delay because they were still slow, their ideologists, in their decisions. I'm referring to an article published in the Bolshevik weekly, *Tribuna*, sometime in 1983. (Interview with Věva, Prague, 11 March 2018)

The system's cultural turn to the right of the system, culminating in the cited article published on 23 March 1983 and signed Jan Krýzl¹⁷ (1983), had already been criticized at the time by music critic Josef Vlček. Vlček, unlike the editors of *Tribuna*, emphasized that punk and new wave were 'leftist' cultural forms. The weekly *Tribuna*, however, did not publish the critical letters by Vlček, which were thus published in the form of samizdat (Vlček 1983).

Only after 1988 did the communist ideologues try to reclaim punk, and it was they who organized the concerts of punk and new wave

17 It was evidently a fictitious name; the true author of the article has never been discovered (see Hartmann and Janouškovec 1993).



Punks and skins together in Prague shortly after the "Velvet revolution"
(Jan Charvát)

groups. It was evidently an instrumental thing to recover a part of the youth. (Interview with Věva, Prague, 11 March 2018).

Shortly before 1989, leftist opposition to the authoritarian regime of Czechoslovakia began to be more and more visible. This opposition crystallized into a subject called Levá alternativa [Left Alternative] that included Trotskyist-inspired personalities: former members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, left-liberals, and anarchists. This complex path led a part of this opposition to the discovery, in both the Czech and Slovak Republics, of late seventies Italian autonomism (as a source of political inspiration). But Czech autonomism started not as the result of a debate within Marxists groups, but rather of a debate among anarchist groups born in the year 1989, the year in which the authoritarian Czechoslovakian regime collapsed¹⁸ One of the first anarchist journals was called *Autonomie*, founded in 1991, although it seemed more to have been inspired by the German *autonomen*. Another milestone that would lead to the establishment of an autonomous group was the year 1995, when the (Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation) was founded. A little later, in 1996, a group called the Organizace revolučních anarchistů - Solidarita (Organization of Revolutionary Anarchists - Solidarita) (ORA-S) broke away from it. From the beginning of the 21st century, ORA-S was considered within the anarchist movement to be increasingly more of a communist organization because of its high interest in workers' and industrial unionism. ORA-S later declared itself to be a group inspired by Georges Fontenis' *Manifesto of Libertarian Communism* (1953).¹⁹In

18 For a brief history of anarchism in the Czech Republic, see, for example, Václav Tomek and Ondřej Slačálek (2006), Jan Charvát (2007), or Martin Bastl (2000).

19 In literature, the word 'libertarian communism' is sometimes translated in the Czech language with *libertinský komunismus* as it was used in the sixties by the Czech philosopher Robert Kalivoda (1968). We could not understand how this error came to be made in the Czech language because the adjective *libertinský* means libertine. It is as if the Czech anarcho-communists called themselves 'libertine communists'. Sometimes, but less often, the term *libertariánský komunismus* is used, which is the correct translation of the term libertarian communism.

2004, the ORA-S split into two parts. The one that still continues to consider itself part of the anarchist movement took the name Anarchokomunistická alternativa (Anarcho-communist Alternative) (AKA). Those who remained in ORA-S soon after changed its name to Koletivně proti kapitálu (Collectively Against Capital) (KPK). Over the years, KPK has profiled itself more and more as an autonomist collective with a strong intellectual tradition that flows into the study of the historical texts of Italian autonomist Marxism.

From the consulted texts,²⁰ it seems that, at the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century there was still considerable confusion in the Czech Republic about the meaning of autonomism. Above all, there was a lack of a theoretical basis and a lack of knowledge of the political and intellectual situation in Italy from 1960s to 1980s. In any case, just before the end of the twentieth century a strong, highly politicized punk scene began to form in the Czech Republic too, seemingly retracing, without effectively differentiating itself, the early 1980s Western HC scene. To discover traces of the transfer of HC from the beginning of the eighties and the current Czech anarcho-punk is almost impossible. In fact, the question involves several generations of musicians and political activists whose ages range between 15 and 56 years.

I understand that in the West there was anarchist punk, because there was the capitalist system. We had to wait for capitalism to take shape in order to understand punk as an expression of the anarchist political movement. The only band of the eighties that still has my respect is Plexis. Commercial bands, such as Visací zámek, no longer have my respect and I do not follow them any more. (Interview with Véva, Prague, 11 March 2018)

However, one of the many threads is represented by Underage, as can be seen from this last witness:

20 Cf. mainly Petr Wohlmuth (Wohlmuth 1997) and Martin Bastl (2000).

In April 2009, I saw a young punk in the street looking like a copy of myself 25 years ago. He had the Underage logo sewn on his vest. I asked him how old he was, and he told me he was born in 1986. I pointed out that Underage had split up three years before his birth. He replied that it did not matter. I asked him if he knew the fate of the singer, and he told me that maybe he had died or emigrated to the East. I smiled and told him that I was alive. To him I looked like a ghost. Then I began to be intrigued myself; I started to go to concerts and realized that it really was just like before. What was imprinted in my youth had moved silently everywhere, even to Central Europe, where I ran away in order to forget. I discovered that CD copies of Underage were sold that we had never printed, since digital technology did not exist then. In addition to the concerts, there was always a flag that read—but why in German?—‘*Antifaschistische Aktion*’. Young punks today still invite me to the concerts of anarcho-punk bands. The last one was yesterday—there was also an Israeli group—but the Czechs were faster. And that’s good! (Interview with Pippo, Olomouc, 3 May 2016)

Our main respondent is still politically active and, at least in one case, was also able to join his political activities with Czech anarcho-punk:

I was the coordinator of cultural activities in my city district. I initiated in 2007 a project entitled ‘Together Against Racism’. Part of this project was also a performance by three HC bands from Czech Republic: Le Laple, Red Insect, and Cunnilingus, from the Western Bohemian town of Rakovník. It was funny to find myself, an old former hardcore singer in a tie, in the position of being able to give material support to some young Czech punk. (Interview with Pippo, Prague, 4 March 2018)

CONCLUSIONS

This, like so many individual interviews, offers us a wide range

of individual stories helpful both in the reconstruction of the spread of punk in the Czech Republic and in the reconstruction of Central-European autonomism.

The transfer of ideas survives the lives and attitudes of individuals.²¹ The transmission of the lyrics of HC political punk songs is reminiscent of the transmission of medieval manuscripts.²² Although it is possible to admit to a common matrix in youth revolts, the ways in which these are expressed follow diffusion centres located, for now, in the Western world. As things stand, the Internet has merely created a strong time acceleration end, at least in this case, no kind of paradigm shift in the transmission process itself.

21 In Italy, it is a well known phrase attributed to the anti-Mafia judge Giovanni Falcone, who was killed in Sicily in 1992. Falcone's statement 'Men pass, ideas remain. Their moral tensions remain and continue to walk on the legs of other men', although expressed in another context, is well suited to our history.

22 An erudite example is Paul Mass' metaphor for philological research (Maas 1958: 20):

A river comes from an inaccessible source under the peak of a high mountain. It divides underground, its branches divide further, and some of these branches then come to the surface on the mountain side as springs; the water of these springs at once drains away and may come to the surface at several places further down the mountain side, finally flowing onward in visible forms overground. The water from its source onwards is of ever-changing but fine and pure colours. In its subterranean course it flows past several places at which colourants matters from time to time dissolve into the water; the same thing happens every time the stream divides and every time it comes to the surface in the spring. Every influx changes the colour of a certain part of the stream, and this part keeps its colour permanently; only very slight colour changes are eliminated by natural processes.

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