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WRITING MY NAME: GRAFFITI MOVEMENT IN BELGRADE 1984 – 2003 AND THE STORY OF GRAFFITI JAMS 2006 – 2013

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Abstract: *The article focuses on the early history of the graffiti movement in Belgrade. Due to the lack of literature on the subject, it was necessary to conduct interviews with several active graffiti writers at the period to construct this history, trace the major participants, understand the techniques, styles, meaning, locations, and development of the scene. New Belgrade's Block 45 is widely recognized as the origin point of the movement, yet other parts of the city have been taken into account, as the scene was spreading and many local crews were forming. By 2003, the scene matured, producing several generations of writers and gained significant media attention, especially after several organized graffiti jams and slow inclusion into the art establishment. From that period on, the author participated in organizing several graffiti jam festivals, and this article is providing both organizational background and a discussion of their relevance and importance for the Belgrade (and Serbian) graffiti culture.*

Key words: *Graffiti history, Graffiti jams, Belgrade, Meeting of Styles*

Introduction: Sources and early history of the graffiti movement¹

Until the beginning of the 1980s, the graffiti movement was exclusively linked to the USA. However, soon this movement took on a global character and spread all over the world. The first stop was Europe, primarily Paris, Berlin, and London. Why did this movement go beyond the borders of the USA? The culture of writing one's name is closely related, first of all, to the social situation and to the need of a generation to imprint its name, and its mark in history, and graffiti was recognized by a small number of young people as precisely one of the ways to achieve this.

¹ Stevanović, B. (2013) *Spoljni uticaji na grafiti pokret u Beogradu od 1995. do 2003. godine*, BA thesis, Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.

Due to the liberal policy towards the lifestyle and culture of the West, the graffiti movement gained its followers in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, primarily in Zagreb and Belgrade in the mid-1980s. In Belgrade, a crew of breakdance dancers called FANTASTIC BOYS wrote the first graffiti RAP CITY CREW. Their work was followed by a very young graffiti writer at the time, who still presents himself as JENS, who managed, after the shutdown of the graffiti movement in Belgrade in the period from 1990 to 1995, to restore it and start the Belgrade graffiti scene that continues to this day.

We associate the beginning of the Belgrade graffiti scene primarily with the crew FANTASTIC BOYS / RAP CITY CREW since they used both names. However, we have little data for the period of the graffiti movement in Belgrade from 1984 to 1990. They are mostly oral interviews collected by a graffiti writer named HOPE and based on them, he compiled an article “Stara škola Beograda” (Old School of Belgrade), which was published in the first Serbian graffiti magazine, *Balkan Round*, in 2009.²

For the period from 1995 to 2003, an analysis of the interviews of graffiti writers who marked that period of the Belgrade graffiti scene was used. Interviews were given by DUBI, LEO, MSK, NEGRE, SUBZERO, ABS, COBES, SPIN, DULAIT, VLE and SECTOR in the period from February 2001 to April 2002. The interviews were conducted by Ljiljana Radošević, a graduate art historian. The analysis was additionally completed with data from interviews with graffiti writers PANK, DEMON, HOPE, MIŠEL and JUNK, which were conducted by the author of this paper in the period November to December 2012. While PUNK and DEMON belong to writers who marked the period covered by this work, HOPE, MIŠEL and JUNK represent a generation of graffiti writers who, observing the aforementioned older writers, entered the world of graffiti at the end of this period. Their recollection of the period is also very important because it gives us an insight into the legacy of the graffiti movement in Belgrade. This insight allows us to see if the new generations of graffiti writers in Belgrade had the same motives for writing their alter ego all over the city or if they were some new reasons and motives under the influence of new circumstances and events that surrounded them.

Graffiti movement in Yugoslavia 1984 – 1990

At the beginning of the 1980s, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was a country that, apart from its socialist system, did not belong to the countries of the Eastern Bloc.³ The wave of hip-hop culture that swept Europe in the 80s also swept SFRY, and two cities very quickly accepted everything that this culture brought with it, and that included graffiti. Those two cities were Belgrade and Zagreb.

At the beginning of the 80s, the first crew was formed in Belgrade, which primarily dealt with breakdancing, and then graffiti. The crew was called FANTASTIC BOYS

² Hope (2009) Stara škola Beograda / Old School of Belgrade, *Balkan Round*, Issue #1, Belgrade, pp. 4-7.

³ See: Vučetić, R. (2012) *Koka-kola socijalizam: Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*, Beograd, Službeni glasnik, pp. 397-399.

and was also known as RAP CITY CREW. This crew was created in Block 45 in the municipality of New Belgrade. Block 45, in addition to its isolation from the city center, working-class character, and proximity to the Sava river, in the following years became known as the place where the first graffiti in Belgrade appeared.⁴ Even today, this block is an open air graffiti gallery and for every Belgrade graffiti writer, it is the place where it all began. FANTASTIC BOYS crew consisted of Babuš, Đela, Steva, Tića and others. It is an interesting fact that in 1985, at the breakdancing competition at the swimming pool *11. April*, they lost the finals to the group ĐOGANI FANTASTICO. One of the first graffiti of FANTASTIC BOYS crew was an octopus on the pavement of the Sava river bank, followed by the graffiti RAP CITY and RCC on the nearby kindergarten in Block 45. Their inspiration were music videos and the film *Beat Street* (1984) where they saw graffiti for the first time. However, at the time, they did not understand that graffiti represents individuals, nor did they understand the concept of tagging and spreading their alter ego all over the city. That will happen in Belgrade only later. Inspired by this graffiti, a kid who introduced himself as MIŠA, later JENS, drew⁵ his first graffiti on the river bank of the Sava River in 1988, thus becoming the graffiti writer with the longest tenure in Belgrade.⁶

At the beginning of the 90s, there were big changes that would affect the development of graffiti in SFRY. The process of splitting the country began, which will be followed by a bloody civil war. Graffiti in Belgrade has completely died out. Mass hysteria and catastrophic political and social changes delayed the beginning of the development of the graffiti scene in Belgrade for a later time.



Figure 1: SANE 751, 1999 (photo: Ljiljana Radošević)

4 Hope, *ibid*, p. 6. Also see: Radošević, Lj. (2009) *New York Graffiti in a Socialist Ghetto, Differentiated neighbourhoods of New Belgrade*, edited by Zoran Erić, Belgrade, Museum of Contemporary Art, pp. 160–171.

5 In Serbian, instead of *writing* graffiti (pisanje) we usually say *drawing* (crtanje).

6 Hope, *ibid*.



Figure 2: PUNK, 1999 (photo: Ljiljana Radošević).

Figure 3: SOTER, 2000 (photo: Ljiljana Radošević).

Renewal of Belgrade graffiti scene, first writers and first crews 1995 – 1999

Martial law, sanctions, and the isolation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (now consisting only of Serbia and Montenegro) overnight fundamentally changed the lives of all its citizens. The period from 1991 to 1996 is the darkest period both for the citizens of this country and for its culture. In terms of culture, there has been a complete degradation of the value system. However, in this entire cultural chaos, there was still a part of young people who rejected the imposed value system and everything that the official system propagated.⁷ Some of them listened to rap, punk, rock, hardcore, and techno, but regardless of the musical diversity, they were unique in that they were rejecting the system created by the state at that time. They were the vanguard of society and from that vanguard came the first graffiti writers in Belgrade.

Due to the very difficult economic situation, a large number of people left Belgrade and went to the West in search of a better life. In that wave of migration, JENS stayed in Paris in the period from 1992 to 1993, just in the period when the Paris graffiti scene reached its maturity which rekindled his interest in graffiti. It was probably in Paris that he understood what it means to be a graffiti writer and what the graffiti movement is in general. He returned to Belgrade in 1994 and decided to actively start writing graffiti. JENS never jealously kept this knowledge to himself but tried to get others interested in the graffiti movement. With BIŠA and BOSIĆ he formed the first crew BMB (Biša Miša Bosić) and they wrote their first graffiti *Stuff* in Block 45 where JENS lived. That graffiti became very popular because it appeared in the videos of local rap bands, such as Sunshine's *America Preview* and Maddogz's *Freedom*, as well as the background of the show *Rap & Soul* at TV Pink. Some other graffiti appeared, such as *Funk* near the Branko Bridge and another at Mostarska Petlja (Mostar interchange), the authors of which are unknown. In Block 45, the character Bob Rock from the cult comic book

⁷ See: Gordi, E. (2001) *Kultura vlasti u Srbiji: Nacionalizam i razaranje alternativa*, Beograd, Samizdat B92.

Alan Ford was also drawn in 1995 by the graffiti writer Dr. QEE who quickly stopped doing graffiti.⁸

In the mid-90s, a graffiti writer who introduced himself as COBESTA28, better known as COBES and VIET, moved into Blok 45. He wrote his first graffiti in Novi Sad. And he, just like JENS, was inspired by RAP CITY CREW graffiti. When he moved to the neighborhood, he met JENS and the two of them formed the AGC (Anonimus Graffiticus Crew). This crew is considered to be the first real graffiti crew modeled after those from Paris and Berlin. Other writers MISE, KRCA, JOLE, JAMAS, and SANE 751 (later known also as JUICE, ĐUS) also joined the crew. Interestingly, some members were not from the blocks, as was the case with SANE 751 who lived on Leka's Hill, and the question arises how did they come into contact with AGC? We will remind you that at this time there was no widespread Internet access and use in Serbia, and very few people even had a computer. One of the possibilities was that if someone was interested in graffiti, he could eventually hear by word of mouth that graffiti was being written in Block 45 and that if he didn't have an intermediary to meet their authors, he had to go to Block 45 and look for them by himself. This just proves how much commitment and interest some graffiti writers had in the graffiti movement.

SANE 751 met JENS when the latter was drawing an advertisement near the Technical School of Architecture at Vračar municipality. SANE 751 saw graffiti as part of hip-hop culture, unlike most other pioneers of the graffiti movement in Belgrade. Since he was a strong admirer of that culture, graffiti and rap music immediately interested him and he decided to present hip-hop in Belgrade through these two subcultural trends.⁹ Already in 1997, together with another writer called EVIL from Zemun, he was a member and one of the founders of the hip-hop band FULL MOON. Their debut album *Na Nivou* which came out in 1998 had a lot of influence on younger writers who listened to hip-hop.

At the other end of New Belgrade, the HALLEY ZONE crew is being formed. It was made up of NEGRE, SUB (also known as SUBZERO), and ABS (ABSOLUTE). Their inspiration was the graffiti of COBES and JENS. The first graffiti they drew was KC representing the initials of their first crew, KILLA CREW. NEGRE drew his first graffiti in 1997 in Block 23 inspired by the French film *La Haine*. He was also impressed by the graffiti he saw in the German graffiti magazine *Brain Damage*.¹⁰ Later, his younger brother NECONE joined him in writing graffiti. At the same time, another writer DR LECO appeared in New Belgrade. He was initially a part of the SCD crew (SCWAD Crew or SCD), but since he was the only active member, he would later collaborate with artists from HALLEY ZONE and other crews. HALLEY ZONE is very important for the development of graffiti in Belgrade because they were the first to try to write more complicated graffiti, primarily characters.

⁸ Hope, op. cit.

⁹ Zupanc, G. (2000) *Pečina* (documentary film), Dunav film and Art TV.

¹⁰ Radošević, Lj. (2002) *Interview Negre*, conducted: February 2002.

The graffiti scene was slowly starting to move across the Sava river to the old part of the city. The 90210 Crew was formed in Dedinje neighborhood, and its members were SOTER and PUNK. They saw graffiti around the city and interestingly the foreign graffiti scene had almost no influence on their early start. PUNK heard about JENS and COBES and met the latter during a series of parties at the Belgrade nightclub Akademija (Academy).¹¹ They became friends very quickly because they were united by similar musical styles, the group of people they hung out with, and above all their attitude towards the graffiti movement. SOTER and PUNK collected money for sprays during the week, then on the weekend they would go to Blok 45, where they were met with COBES and write graffiti.¹² The place where they met was the first skate shop in Belgrade, *Star Child*. COBES worked in this shop and in general most of the graffiti writers came to Blok 45 at that time because there was also a paint shop nearby, and graffiti was mostly drawn in that place. So we can conclude that Blok 45, and even more precisely the *Star Child* skate shop, is perhaps the first writers' bench¹³ in Belgrade. The graffiti movement in Belgrade began unconsciously to establish some foundations that were characteristic of the graffiti movements in New York, Paris, and Berlin.

Star Child was primarily visited by admirers of the skating subculture. One of those skaters later became a graffiti writer from Zemun who introduced himself as DEMON. Unlike others who in that period preferred writing in a simpler style and doing silver pieces, he immediately wanted to do complicated graffiti with many colors.¹⁴ His interest in graffiti awakened the need to become very well informed about the graffiti scenes abroad, and the graffiti writers from Germany (such as DELTA, DAIM and LOOMIT) left a great impression on him solely because of the 3D form of graffiti, which none of the graffiti writers in Belgrade used at the time. Under this influence, DEMON created his unique and recognizable style on the Belgrade graffiti scene. Soon, together with DUBI and MASK, he formed the first graffiti crew from Zemun called ZAS (Zemun Art Scene).

By 1999, more graffiti writers appeared from various parts of Belgrade who were influential in the further expansion of the scene. First of all, it was LEO from the CO2 (Circle of 2) crew, CSAK and MSK who came from the city center, SPIN from Vidikovac, FACE from Zvezdara, and many others. The emergence of new graffiti writers will contribute to the fact that the graffiti movement spread all over Belgrade.

It is important to note under what conditions the scene continued its development. Despite the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999, there were positive changes in the local graffiti scene. First, the branded spray cans as well as special caps could not be bought anywhere in Belgrade until 2002, when the Montana brand appeared. The graffiti

11 In that period, the cult Belgrade club was a gathering place for young people who listened to alternative music, such as punk, hardcore, and rock.

12 Stevanović, B. (2012) Interview with Punk, November 2012, Belgrade.

13 Writers' bench is the term used by graffiti writers to describe the place where the graffiti community meets.

14 Stevanović, B. (2012) Interview with Demon, November 2012, Belgrade.

writers did not have a large selection of sprays and opted for Kenda Colors. In the spring of 1999, Kim-Tec Colors sprays were introduced in the local market, which were much better than Kenda Colors and were more affordable at the flea market in New Belgrade.¹⁵ Sprays were obtained in several ways. The best option would be if someone ordered commercial graffiti for an advertisement and would buy sprays, and the graffiti writers would always order a little more than they needed and take the excess for themselves. The only possibility to get professional graffiti writing equipment was to buy it abroad.¹⁶

An additional external influence that shaped the Belgrade graffiti scene was through magazines and films about graffiti that began to appear at that time. *Brain Damage*, *Graphotism*, *Stylefile*, and *Concrete* are just some of the numerous magazines that were published all over Europe and found their way to Belgrade. The first two documentary films about graffiti that appeared in Belgrade around 1997/1998 are *Style wars* (1983) and *FX* (1998). Each one is important in shaping not only the Belgrade graffiti scene but also other graffiti scenes all over the world.

Watching documentaries and technically perfect graffiti in magazines, writers realized that to write perfect graffiti, they had to have and use different caps. They were usually brought from abroad and the writers shared them among their crew or sold them so that only every other writer actually owned a pair of caps. The caps would be regularly cleaned after painting by various methods and were so valuable because of the various paint dispersal systems they possessed.¹⁷ With some of them, the paint could be applied in broad strokes, which was ideal for painting large areas, and again they saved paint (golden cap), while with others, thin lines could be drawn, which was ideal for framing letters in graphite (skinny cap).

This first period after the renewal of the graffiti movement, which was marked by the appearance of a large number of writers and the formation of numerous crews, was concluded with the first organized graffiti festival called *Graffiti Jam*.¹⁸ Creating a festival like this was just a natural course of events in the development of the graffiti scene and it was held in the courtyard of the King Peter I Elementary School in the very center of Belgrade, not far from the Academy club. The organizer was the civil association Post-Pesimisti, backed by the Open Society Fund, which through SANE 751 reached out to the best Belgrade writers and invited them to the festival.¹⁹ JENS, MISE, ABS, SANE

15 Kim-Tec cost 10 dinars (then 0.30 Euros) per can, and Kenda sprays cost 170 dinars.

16 Today in Belgrade there are several specialized stores where you can buy branded sprays and caps for graffiti and magazines, such as Beowallz and Kobazz (Кобазз) Skate Shop.

17 For example, today's writers in Belgrade have bags full of caps, and after the writing is finished, the caps are discarded if they become clogged.

18 Graffiti Jam is usually a festival where the best writers gather and draw on one wall with a couple of guests from abroad. This festival is accompanied by a music program and advertising, i.e. an invitation to visit the festival for all those who are interested in drawing graffiti in any way. Such festivals and similar ones have a long history and have become an annual practice in all countries that have a developed graffiti scene.

19 Stevanović, Interview Punk, op.cit.

751, COBES, MSK, FACE, EVIL, CSAK, NECONE, NEGRE, SUB, LECO, PUNK, and JAMAS, all drew at the festival. Guests from Croatia, FUK and JEN, and three artists from Slovenia (including Goražd Prinčič and Rok Ogorevc) also drew at the festival. The response of the public was more than positive because a large number of people gathered in the schoolyard.²⁰



Figure 4: Graffiti jam 1999 – JENS (photo: Nikola Radojčić).

Figure 5: Graffiti jam 1999 – Nebo (Nebojša Saveljić), SANE 751 (photo: Nikola Radojčić).



Figure 6: Graffiti jam 1999 – NEGRE, ABS, SUB (photo: Nikola Radojčić).



Figure 7: Graffiti jam 1999 – COBE, Smor (photo: Nikola Radojčić).

Belgrade Graffiti Movement 1999 – 2003

At the beginning of this period, graffiti was spread all over Belgrade, and a new popular place for writing graffiti was the fence of the Jugopetrol refinery across from Ada Ciganlija on Vojvoda Mišić Boulevard. This wall became the first Belgrade Hall of Fame.²¹ In 1999, COBES came into contact with ASEM (aka KOBOLT, KOMA), a graffiti writer from Germany of Serbian origin who was delighted to meet Belgrade writers and offered a domain for a website on the Internet to promote the Serbian graffiti scene.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The Hall of Fame is a certain wall-place in the city that is legalized for drawing graffiti and the best graffiti artists draw on it and the graffiti on that wall changes non-stop.

Editing of this website is entrusted to NEGRE and NECONE (NEC).²² The website was called BGILLEGAL, and this was the name of the new graffiti crew, which consisted of COBES, PUNK, SOTER, NEGRE, NECONE, SUB, ABS, LECO, DULAIT and ANGEL. When BGILLEGAL was formed, it was not planned for the homogenization of the scene.

The website was a big step forward for the graffiti movement in Serbia because for the first time, graffiti writers from all over the world could see graffiti from Serbia. The Internet was slowly making its way into the homes of graffiti writers from Belgrade, or they were visiting newly opened Internet cafes.²³ The most visited website among Belgrade writers was artcrimes.com, where they could see graffiti from all over the world in one place.²⁴ New graffiti scenes were discovered, and among the most respectable writers for Belgrade writers were the ones from Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Sweden, in addition to France and Germany. However, some graffiti writers were against foreign influences in the style of domestic graffiti writers. They believed that the Serbian graffiti scene needed to create its recognizable style.²⁵ Furthermore, the possibility for others to become familiar with our scene was also a possibility for graffiti writers who draw on trains to come to the city and create a problem for Belgrade writers with the public and the authorities.²⁶ In Belgrade during that period, it was incomparably easier to write on trains than it was, for example in Germany. There was not even a fence at the Belgrade yard (temporary train depot near Gazela bridge, one of the favorite bombing sites for Belgrade writers), let alone a video surveillance system and a special police unit that dealt with graffiti on public transport.

BGILLEGAL crew existed in its full capacity until 2002 when COBES and PUNK were the first to exit it. They decided to make a smaller but more coherent crew. They gathered members who, in addition to writing together, shared the same ideals. That's how the AFO (Antifašistička omladina, Anti-Fascist Youth) crew was born, and its members at the beginning were COBES, PUNK, SOTER, DULAIT, MIŠEL, PEKMEZ (B&H/Munich), and IMUN from Banja Luka.²⁷ In 2001, the crew SDB (Seks Droga Bodiropa)²⁸ was formed in Zemun, whose members were DEMON, SANE 751, DUBI, and RENZ.²⁹

In the period from 1999 to 2003, more respectable crews and writers appeared who marked this period or will influence the future. Apart from BGILLEGAL and AFO, another crew whose quality was recognized was the LMC or MAC (Line Machine Crew).

22 Stevanović, *ibid.*

23 Radošević, Lj. (2001) Interview with Dubi, October 2001, Belgrade.

24 Radošević, Lj. (2001) Interview with Spin, October 2001, Belgrade.

25 Radošević, Lj. (2001) Interview with Cobesta28, March 2001, Belgrade.

26 Radošević, Lj. (2001) Interview with Dulait, October 2001, Belgrade.

27 Stevanović, Interview Punk, *op.cit.*

28 Alternatively, “Služba državne bezbednosti”. At the time Služba državne bezbednosti (Yugoslav Secret Service) was a concept that, despite being long lost in history, appeared in public discourse quite often. As a counterbalance, crew members decided to reference the despised abbreviation with a popular song at the time by Inspektor Blaža and Kljunovi “Seks, droga, Bodiropa”.

29 Stevanović, Interview Demon, *op.cit.*

Its members were SECTOR, JESMA, and SNIPE.³⁰ Then appeared the crew from Miljakovac called MSC (Miljakovac Style Crew), consisting of VLE, PACKE, and MIŠEL.³¹ The graffiti writers of both of these crews were inspired by the graffiti of BGILLEGAL and later AFO, and they also collaborated with them.³² In Zemun, writers WISE, KANG, GEKO, and EGON appeared, forming the EZB crew (Ekipa Zemunskih Bombera, Zemun bomber team), as well as PINKI who, writing together with another writer EAZY, will become one of the most active graffiti writers on the Belgrade scene. Artist JUNK appeared in the Pavillions of New Belgrade, and was initially inspired by the BGILLEGAL crew and DEMON graffiti he saw in his neighborhood.³³ Block 45 was not far behind; the Mecca of Belgrade graffiti got new graffiti writers such as DEXTER, DROPE, NOIZE, NES, and HOPE. HOPE started writing back in 1998, but at that time he was very young and just getting to know the scene; later on he became the principal archivist of the local scene and its history.³⁴

In this period, the Belgrade graffiti movement slowly began to take the shape of a serious graffiti scene, as was the case earlier with cities such as Paris and Berlin. The scene consisted of graffiti writers who had reached their zenith and were very active, followed by new talented and interested generations of graffiti writers. All this made the Belgrade scene very active in this period, and with that came public interest.



Figures 8-10: DUBI & D(E)MON, 42nd October Salon, 2001 (photo: Ljiljana Radošević)
The attitude of the public towards the graffiti movement in Belgrade 2000 – 2003

The graffiti movement in Belgrade spread very quickly at the beginning of the 21st century. As the scene experienced some of its maturity, it led to the regular writing of illegal graffiti on public transport vehicles in Belgrade and walls in the city center. The trains were painted regularly from 1997 and 1998; Beovoz intercity train system began to be drawn in 2000 and the first graffiti was done by PUNK, COBES, and SOTER.³⁵ They

30 Radošević, Lj. (2002) Interview with Sector, April 2002, Belgrade.

31 Radošević, Lj. (2002) Interview with Vle, April 2002, Belgrade.

32 Stevanović, B. (2012) Interview with Michel, December 2012, Belgrade.

33 Stevanović, B. (2012) Interview with Junky, November 2012, Belgrade.

34 Stevanović, B. (2012) Interview with Hope, November 2012, Belgrade.

35 Stevanović, Interview Punk, op.cit.

were immediately followed by SANE 751 and DEMON. Graffiti on trolleybuses was written even before 2000, but writing on trolleybuses experienced its expansion when the trolleybuses garage of the city transport company burned down in a fire in the winter of 2000/2001.³⁶ Graffiti on trams started to be written at the same time and according to the stories of older artists, writing graffiti on a tram was the most difficult thing at that time because trams, unlike other public transport systems, were much better protected.³⁷

The city and the whole country in general were in transition and there were more important problems than graffiti on trains. For example, writers from that period testified that in the yard in the early hours of the morning, they found smugglers tearing up the upholstery in the train compartments and placing the goods smuggled in that way. Next to them in the compartments of the parked trains were homeless people, as well as Roma people who lived in a nearby shanty town. Writing graffiti on trains was not a game and it was rare that a graffiti writer decided to go to the yard alone. If the police caught them writing illegal graffiti, they would know to physically harass them, arrest them and leave them to spend the night in detention.³⁸

As for legal graffiti, they were immediately accepted by the public. They soon gained attention by various newspapers and television. This is how the documentary *Zid za mene* (Wall for Me) was made, which was broadcasted on Radio Television of Serbia in 2001/2003.³⁹ The show deals with graffiti history and terminology, and one of the narrators are graffiti writers DEMON and FOLK (aka LEO) and Ljiljana Radošević, a graduate art historian. Radošević was the first to deal with the graffiti movement in Belgrade from the perspective of art history and academia.

The artistic elite also noticed the graffiti movement in Belgrade. Thus, at the 42nd October Salon in 2001, graffiti painted by DEMON and DUBI was exhibited. It is interesting that no one contacted the aforementioned graffiti writers and asked them to paint graffiti for the Salon, since they were not familiar with their identities. Before the Salon, graffiti was painted on a metal fence panel at a construction site near Ušće, and the selectors of the October Salon, headed by well known artist Era Milivojević, simply decided to take that panel and transfer it to the second floor of pavilion Cvijeta Zuzorić, where part of the program was held. On the eve of the opening event, DEMON was informed that his graffiti was on display, and the selectors of the Salon through other graffiti writers managed to reach him as one of the authors. He was invited to be a guest on the show on Radio Television Studio B, together with Era Milivojević.⁴⁰

36 Stevanović, *ibid.*

37 Stevanović, Interview Demon, *op.cit.*

38 Radošević, Lj. (2001) Interview with Leo, March 2001, Belgrade.

39 Fero, T. (2001) *Zid za mene* documentary show, RTS; EASY. (April 19, 2019) ZID ZA MENE 1 / 3 x GRAFFITI x BEOGRAD, *Youtube*, accessed June 6, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9KLIT_ZDKVk.

40 Stevanović, Interview Demon, *op.cit.*; Radošević, New York Style Graffiti in a Socialist Ghetto, *op.cit.*

The end of this era was marked by the biggest graffiti jam called *Nov Način - Nov Život* (New way - New life) supported by the Belgrade Summer Festival (Belef) in the summer of 2003. Under the organization of Ljiljana Radošević and Marko Miletić (Foto Ćomi), and with the help of the graffiti writers SECTOR and ANGEL who were art selectors, more than 20 graffiti writers were chosen to paint a large mural on the so-called Signal building in Pop Lukina Street, as well as a large number of pieces on the fence of the IMT factory in Block 60.⁴¹ The writers were JUNKIE, PINKI, NES, HOPE, DEXTER, NECONE, ABS, SUB, NEGRE, VIET, LEVIS, BENA, JUST, TIFUS, DOUBLE, PAFES, PUNK, SOTER, PEKMEZ, THC, SEKTOR, NOIZE, SEC, DULAIT, MANO, and ANGEL (all from Serbia), LUNAR (Zagreb, Croatia), REA and ESH (Mostar and Tuzla respectively, Bosnia and Herzegovina), TISH and SKEC (Budapest, Hungary). Not long after this festival, a certain number of graffiti writers stopped writing, creating a noticeable gap, and soon new artists appeared on the scene who would carry the graffiti movement in Belgrade forward in the years to come.

About graffiti jams

Graffiti jams are festivals which, as an unwritten rule, gather the best graffiti writers at the moment to paint together, even if this is just the sole opinion of the author of this article, who participated in organizing the majority of jams during this period of almost 10 years. The main motivation behind the organization of these events was for the graffiti culture in Belgrade to get that last part of the puzzle which was previously missing so this subcultural movement would get its final shape and meaning. Again, this is the author's personal impression.

The events in question are: Sabotaz jams in 2006 and 2007, Belef festival graffiti jam in 2008, and Meeting of Styles jams from 2010 to 2013. The aim of the article is to try to enlist most if not all of the participants, discuss the jams relationship with the scene, and provide the organizational background. As in the case with any other event with more than twenty people, the organizers were faced with numerous challenges and obstacles. Some of them include: the selection of writers (the numbers are always limited by the available funds), finding the desired locations, getting the necessary permits, marketing and event promotion, fundraising and sponsorships (definitely the hardest part). This part does not rely on many external references since the author was directly involved in all of the events. The effort was made to be consistent and describe the events in an objective manner; everything that was deemed more subjective was omitted.

Sabotaz graffiti jams 2006 & 2007

After the well-known *New Way-New Life (Nov način-Nov život)* jam organized for and supported by the Belef festival in 2003, the Belgrade scene went a bit silent. Some of the scene pioneers from the period of 1995-2003 have become less active (example of HALLEY ZONE crew), while some almost stopped painting for good (such as Block

⁴¹ Stevanović, Interview Punk, op.cit.



Figures 11 & 12: BELEF 2003, Pop Lukina street (photo: Marko Miletić)



Figures 13-15: IMT Graffiti jam 2003. (photo: Marko Miletić)

45 writers and members of the SDB crew: JENS, MISE, MASKA, DUBI, among others). Additionally, LINE MACHINE crew went almost silent, as well as the activity of some writers who were not part of any crews, such as SPIN. In a way, there was a generational shift. Side by side some of the other 1995-2003 bearers (such as VIET, SOTER, PUNK, DULAIT, MIŠEL, DEMON, EASY, among others) there were new writers who were very active in this period, such as HOPE and NES from New Belgrade's Block 45, then JUNK, PRIME, SLOW and DEPSA from Zemun, TIMOR, EKO and CESTA from Banovo brdo, DEROK, MASTER and WUNSTE from Lekino brdo, KLON and BAK from Konjarnik, CRUEL from Miljakovac, DABL and OLI from Kanarevo brdo, LEON, SARIN and GHOST from Vidikovac and many more, more or less active writers.⁴² This whole new generation was profoundly influenced by the older writers and so the scene continued with its uninterrupted development in the years to come.

42 For the early history of Belgrade graffiti, see: Stevanović, B. (2013) *Spoljni uticaji na grafiti pokret u Beogradu od 1995. do 2003. godine*, BA thesis, Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade; Radošević, Lj. (2009) *New York Graffiti in a Socialist Ghetto, Differentiated neighbourhoods of New Belgrade*, edited by Zoran Erić, Belgrade, Museum of Contemporary Art, pp. 160–171; Hope (2009), *Stara škola Beograda / Old School of Belgrade, Balkan Round*, Issue #1, Belgrade, pp. 4-7.

The new writers faced the same old recurring problem that gave headaches to the older generation – the lack of quality painting equipment. During this period the brand Montana started appearing in three paint shops in Belgrade, but the cost of one spray can was so high that the cheaper Kenda Colors was still widely used, however just partially satisfying the technical requirements, especially for the silver pieces. Still, writers who preferred to do legal graffiti really felt the lack of a better and more economically accessible spray. At that moment the social network Myspace was active, so the writers used it as a platform to share their work and network with other writers worldwide. That is how graffiti artist from Greece JOAN wrote to LEON as a representative of Greek graffiti spray paint brand Sabotaz. LEON immediately connected her with Paja the skater, the owner of skate shop Kobazz (Кобазз). JOAN came to Belgrade in 2006, introduced Paja with the distributor, and finally an accessible spray with decent performance found its way in the local Kobazz shop.

SARIN convinced JOAN and the distributor that it would be a good marketing move if they would allocate an amount of paint for a graffiti jam, to be organized by MDC crew from Vidikovac (SARIN, LEON, PLASTIC, HONIC and SPAWN). And so they provided 150 spray cans and the organizers were set to find the locations and advertise the event. SARIN's and PLASTIC's girlfriends at the moment suggested their high school, "Sveti Sava" gymnasium. The location was ideal because it was centrally positioned, had its own yard and adequate walls. SARIN contacted the school's headmaster and she was thrilled to have the writers paint their outer walls and inner yard fence. The organizers wanted to boost the event by including an evening musical event during the jam. SKC–Student cultural center's small club was chosen as the venue and the program featured rap performers Juice (SANE 751), Bad Copy, Škabo, Marčelo, Misterija Mikroфона, Biro and drum and bass groups Codex and Elementz.

Everything was set in place and the promotion commenced. The first communication channel was to create flyers which the members of MDC crew distributed for two weeks before the jam in Belgrade clubs with hip hop and drum and bass parties, because the graffiti jam target group attended these spaces and events. The second communication channel was the press–radio, newspapers and televisions. The organizers sent emails to relevant media which resulted in their appearance on TV B92.

The Sabotaz graffiti jam featured the following writers: BAK, CRUEL, DEMON, EAZY, EKO, EKOS, GAUTAMA, HONIC, HOPE, JUNK, KLON, LEON, MIŠEL, PLASTIC, PRIME, PUNK, RONES, SARIN, SOTER, and SPAWN. The attendance was great in general, especially for the musical events. In the aftermath of the jam, one of the outcomes was that a number of new and younger writers started making their first pieces, while Sabotaz spray cans became the main tool for Belgrade writers.

The collaboration with Sabotaz brand continued in 2007, when another jam was organized in Banjica municipality's elementary school "Filip Filipović." The main organizers were LEON and Paja the skater from Kobazz, while the location was selected thanks to LORTEK's suggestion. Unlike the previous jam, there was no musical program and almost no investment in marketing and advertising. Despite it all, this jam was also well

attended. The participating writers were: BAK, CRUEL, DEMON, EAZY, EKOS, FIRMA, HONIC, HOPE, JUNK, KANG, KLON, LEON, LORTEK, MIŠEL, OLY, PLASTIC, PRIME, PUNK, RONES, SICK, SOBEK, SOTER, and SPAWN.

Belef graffiti jam 2008

In late 2007, SARIN found an open call by Belef (Belgrade summer festival) on the Internet, asking for proposals to organize artistic programs for the forthcoming festival. SARIN conceptualized a desired graffiti manifestation, sent the application, and after a few months was contacted by the artistic director Dorijan Kolundžija who accepted his proposal.⁴³ Since this time the graffiti jam was backed by the city as the main funder, it was much easier to organize it. Finances were secured which enabled buying spray cans and additional painting equipment, paying for plane tickets and accommodation for international writers and musical performers. As there were enough funds, SARIN decided to invite two times more writers than in the last two jams, but that required painting on two locations in the period of two days.

The first location was suggested by Belef – the fence surrounding the construction yard in Kralja Petra street (now shopping mol Rajićeva), while the second one was provided by SARIN. He contacted once more the headmaster of “Sveti Sava” high school because their space satisfied all the necessary requirements. From the marketing standpoint, Belef took over the promotion of the whole festival, including the graffiti jam, under the direction of the PR Barbara Garčević. LEON and Paja helped SARIN with the organization. Unlike the previous years, Sabotaz spray cans in Kobazz shop were replaced with brands such as Beat and Clash, which proved much better, but they were still no match to premium quality Montana, MTN94 and Belton.

International writers who participated were: RUSL (Germany), EAZE, LOOFYA, BACK, KONGO, JUAN (France), SMACK, KAZER, MOSK (Croatia) and NEMO (Bosnia and Herzegovina). Local writers were: PUNK, SOTER, MIŠEL, LORTEK, SICK, SOBEK, SANE 751, SLOW, DEPSA, KLON, BAK, CRUEL, PRIME, ITU, PROE, DESK, MAMBO, PIROS, BRADA, HONIC, OPTIMUS, POLX, LUCK, EAZY, RONES, ANGEL, JUNK, RISK, EKOS, DEMON, SARIN, PLASTIC, SPAWN, AIR, SPECTRE, MIST, MUPOK, TIGAR, EKO, HOPE, and CASH. This might have been one of the most attended festival manifestations since during the jam there were so many people visiting the high school yard there was little space to move at all.⁴⁴ Several factors influenced this opinion: the graffiti scene at the period was at its peak, the festival had great media coverage, the funding made the organization smooth, and there were no restraints in providing the amount of sprays nor the number of writers to paint.

⁴³ See: Kolundžija, D. (editor, 2008), *Belef08*, Beograd: Belef centar.

⁴⁴ Part of the atmosphere can be seen here: urbanrootsmag (2013) BELEF 2008. Graffiti part, 2. January 2013, 1. July 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dD99aD93Tl0>. Also see: Jovanović, T. (2008) Umetnost grafiti: Organizovano crtanje, *Vreme*, 14. August 2008, 1. July 2024, <https://old.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=693048>.

Meeting of Styles Belgrade 2010

One year after the organization of the largest graffiti jam so far under Belef's support, when the city turned to large-scale mural project led by Kiosk collective and graffiti was not in focus in 2009. The same year the first Serbian graffiti magazine *Balkan Round* was published. At the promotional party of the first – and as it turned out the last – issue, SOTER and SARIN came up with a plan. SOTER suggested organizing the first Meeting of Styles in Belgrade. International Meeting of Styles (short MOS) is an international network of graffiti writers and artists launched in 1997 in Wiesbaden, Germany.⁴⁵ The festival's concept is the following: anyone who wants to organize a MOS in their city can apply and get a permit from the organizers. In the earlier days the organization would send spray cans, which used to be a great support for any local organizers of graffiti jams. However, in the late 2000s, the organization slowed down, and they could not provide neither the amount nor the quality of spray cans as before.

Nevertheless, SOTER and SARIN, together with Nebojša Petrović from IDE Group, decided to organize the first MOS in Belgrade. This was very important for the affirmation of the Serbian scene abroad since this graffiti jam concept is among the most recognized worldwide. MOS organizers gave the permit and so Belgrade found its way into MOS official calendar. Additionally, they promised and delivered 150 sprays of American brand Blueberry paints, which was just coming up in the global market. The amount was not enough to cover all the participant's needs, and there was a lack of funds to pay for transportation and accommodation for writers from abroad, as well as other expenses. Local organizers turned to the city's open call for artistic projects for additional funding which they received and all means for realization were secured.

For the location of Meeting of Styles two locations were selected: the wall of the Institute of chemistry, technology and metallurgy facing the park at Slavija square (popularly called *Mitićeva rupa*), and the famous concrete fence of the Industry of Machinery and Tractors (IMT) in New Belgrade. The institute's wall was a long-held dream of many writers because of its premium location and the mural would be seen both from Slavija and Beogradska street. However, no one ever asked for painting permits. SARIN did not even know his father, a PhD in technical science, was the institute's associate. Upon realizing it, SARIN asked him to contact the institute's management and have a meeting with them. After presenting the mural draft and overall plan at the meeting, the permit was secured. The IMT wall is significant because it became the second Hall of fame in Belgrade which features the best writers in the city. When the first Hall of fame, the Jugopetrol fence at Ada Ciganlija was torn down, the IMT wall was the only official one remaining at the time. To receive permits, the organizers contacted the city municipality of New Belgrade which gave their support.

Aside from the aforementioned Blueberry spray cans, the organizers also obtained brands Ironlak from graffiti shop TOK and Beat and Clash from skate shop Kobazz. Part

⁴⁵ See: <https://meetingofstyles.com/about-us/> (accessed 1. July 2024).

of the sprays was the shops' sponsorship while the other part was secured through the city's open call. Lime, scaffolding, poster print, travel and accommodation of international writers were also covered by the modest budget the organizers provided. Speaking of marketing, a number of posters were printed to be posted throughout the city. At the time Facebook became popular, so the organization relied on the social network to advertise. Unfortunately, the attendance was much lower when compared to the Belef graffiti jam from 2008.

The writers who painted the institute wall were: ARSEK, ERASE, and FOUR PLUS (Bulgaria), STAN and MAX13 (Russia), RUSL (Germany) and local writers CASH, DEMON, EKOS, HOPE, JUNK, LEON, MARG (Marggg), MLK, PIROS, PUNK (Pank), RONES, SARIN, SOTER, FON DACH and WUNSTE. IMT fence was painted by LUNAR, SMACK, KAZER and AGIOS (Croatia), POK and NOTME (Finland) and locals ANGEL, BAK, BEST, BOLERO, BRADA, DEPSA, DEROK, JENS, JUST, LEMON, LOCK, LORTEK, MUPOK, OPTIMUS, QUIZ, PRIME, RAGE, RIKS, SANE (SANE 751), SICK, SLOW, SOBEK, TAZ, TKV, VIET, and ZULUM (Zooloom).⁴⁶

Meeting of Styles Belgrade 2011

After the first successful MOS in Belgrade, the same organizers decided to realize another festival the very next year. They submitted a project for the regular, annual open call of the Secretariat for Culture of the city of Belgrade. However, the city provided them with 50% less funds than the year before. As MOS 2010 was held together with a very tight budget, the organizers thought they were in trouble. However, IDE Group managed to get Naftna Industrija Srbije's sponsorship and so cover part of the expenses (spray cans and scaffolding). The desired wall was at the elementary school "Stari Grad" in Dorćol. The school's head master was thrilled with the idea to have the whole yard filled with murals.

And so the base was set for the upcoming MOS, but the organizers already felt it will be difficult to obtain minimum funding for this kind of manifestation in the future if they rely on the same funding scheme and the national and city open calls. Because of a difference of opinions in creating the selection of writers, SARIN decided to leave the team three weeks before the event. WUNSTE and MARG (also MARGGG and MARGE) joined the organization bringing some new, fresh energy to the team. By their merit, aside from the jam, a competition in breakdancing was also organized. When it comes to participating writers, the following took part: locals ANGEL, ARTEZ, BAK, BRADA, CASH, CRUEL, DEMON, DEROK, DOCTOR, FOCUS, HOPE, JUNK, EKOS, LEON, LOCK, LORTEK, MARG (Marggg), MLK, PIROS, PRIME, PUNK, RAGE, RIKS, RISKY, SARIN, SICK, SOBEK, SOOMER (Sumer), SOTER, SPLIF, TAZ, TOYOTA, WUNSTE, and YAKUZA, then MAX13 and STAN (from Russia), NOIR (Austria), SCHIL and BACON (Italy), and ARSEK, ERASE, NASIMO and MR. NAO (Bulgaria).⁴⁷

46 MoS (2010) 27-29 August 2010, Belgrade (Serbia), 27. August 2010, 1. July 2024, <https://meetingofstyles.com/27-29-august-2010-belgrade-serbia/>

47 See: Stan One (2011) Meeting of Styles. Belgrade, 2011., 5. September 2011, 1. July 2024, <https://meetingofstyles.com/27-29-august-2010-belgrade-serbia/>

Meeting of Styles Belgrade 2012 and 2013

The newly formed MOS organizational team (SOTER, WUNSTE, MARG, ARTEZ, and FON DACH from IDE Group) moved forward to organize another jam in 2012. However, and somewhat expectedly, the funding was even lower than the year before, but they managed to gather enough funds to set the scaffolding and buy the spray cans. The location of the jam was the First Belgrade High School in the Dorćol area again. The permit was secured from the school's headmaster thanks to WUNSTE and MARG.⁴⁸ Just like the previous year, Beogradizacija Beograda initiative also supported the jam. The jam also featured a competition in breakdancing. The participating writers were: ARTEZ, BRADA, HOPE, JUNK, MARG, MLK, PIROS, RAGE, SOTER, WUNSTE, and STAN (Russia).

Despite the difficulties, the organizers decided to have another MOS in 2013. This time, any financial support by the city was omitted, and the organizers were negotiating commercial sponsorships. However, due to the poor feedback, ARTEZ decided to hand over his previously arranged mural spot at a residential building in Dorćol's Visokog Stevana street for the forthcoming MOS, in agreement with the building's tenants. ARTEZ's scaffolding and spray cans were allocated to the Meeting of Styles' murals.⁴⁹ At the same time, the organizers secured the IMT wall again, so this MOS was again taking place in two locations. The participants were: AITH, ARTEZ, BEST, BRADA, CHENIPE, EKOS, JUNK, KALM8, LOCK, LORTEK, MARG, MASTER, MONSTA, NARIS, NSI, PIROS, RAGE, SARIN, SOOMER, STEPHANIE, TKV, WUPER, and XYMO. IMT featured: BOLERO, DEMON, ENOSTER, FOKS, GATE, GEARS, GUA, NATU, NES, NOKS, PAYO, PONE, RULE, SILE, SOTER, TAZ, TOKYO, VITEZ, WUNSTE, YAKUZA, and ZOOLOOM.⁵⁰

When it comes to the artistic concept of these festivals, the organizers were not thinking of setting any topics in advance. And so, the 2006-2010 jams were freestyle. In practice, that meant every writer had their piece of the wall/fence, 6-8 spray cans, and could express themselves and paint whatever they wanted. Naturally, some used the opportunity to paint their tag or character, their street stylistic trademark, and by doing so add an extra layer of affirmation to their alter ego on the scene. In fact, that's what the organizers had in mind from the beginning. From 2010 and faced with the first larger wall, there was a need for a more complex production, merging several graffiti letters and characters into a whole with background, and that's how thinking about a topic came to be. It was also conditioned by the color palette the organizers had access to. However, the topics were developed just a few days before the jam, except for in 2013 when ARTEZ came up with the idea and mural draft in Dorćol sometime prior to the jam.

www.flickr.com/photos/stan1/6115026581; MoS (2011) 26–28 August 2011, Belgrade (Serbia), 26. August 2011, 1. July 2024, <https://meetingofstyles.com/26-28-august-2011-belgrade-serbia/>
48 Stevanović, B. (2024) Interview with Wunste, 1. May 2024, Belgrade.

49 Ibid.

50 MoS (2013) 21-23 June 2013 – Belgrade (Serbia), 21. June 2013, 1. July 2024, <https://meetingofstyles.com/21-23-june-2013-belgrade-serbia/>.



Figure 16: Meeting of Styles, Belgrade, 2012. (photo: Ljiljana Radošević)



Figure 17: Meeting of Styles, Belgrade, 2013 (photo: Ljiljana Radošević)

Conclusion

With its early steps in the mid-80s, the graffiti movement gained traction in Belgrade from 1995, when JENS came back from Paris and started forming the first crews and supported teenagers in New Belgrade's Block 45 who would eventually form the first graffiti generation. The later generations spread graffiti throughout the city, and in 1999 introduction of cheaper spray cans enabled more production. The same year marked the first graffiti jam, and there were more to follow in the consequent years. In early 2000s, Belgrade and Serbian writers gained extra visibility through the first website dedicated to graffiti BGILLEGAL. This first wave of writers started to wane in 2004, when other artists and new graffiti writers took over and started developing the scene in different directions.

The graffiti movement in Belgrade was shaped by the foreign influences from the USA and Europe, just like in many other places around the world. It started mostly with popular hip-hop and graffiti movies and music in the 1980s, when the first writers left their short mark in the city. But from the 1990s, a young group of Belgraders accepted it as a means to express the hardship they lived through during the decade. The local writers developed their own original styles which enabled them to gain respect from other graffiti scenes in Europe. This is further emphasized by the fact that after the sanctions and Yugoslav civil war, artists from abroad have been a continuous part of various events and the scene starting from 1999.

When it comes to graffiti jams, what have these events meant for the scene? Aside from the organizer's need to affirm the local graffiti scene, particularly through the Meeting of Styles, it is important to state that in the period between 2006 and 2013 there were new writers who had the possibility to see live and in one spot other experienced writers and network with them. That aspect was missing in the in-between generation after the pioneers during the period 1996-2003. The expansion came at the right time, together with more quality sprays and caps, brands and shops, which enabled a faster development of the Serbian graffiti scene, as well as the emergence of quality writers and muralists of the new generation.

However, in the background of this story about the graffiti movement in Belgrade, there is always the following question: why did certain young people from Belgrade during the social and economic collapse of the 90s decided to use graffiti to gain visibility and resist a destructive value system dictated by the official political and cultural elites? The answer might lie in the very definition of the graffiti movement by photographer Henry Chalfant, one of the makers of the seminal *Style Wars* documentary on New York graffiti. He defined the writers as a group of youngsters who surmounted the imposed, handicapped social standards and tried to break from anonymity of their time.⁵¹ This resonated with youth from all around the world who identified with the graffiti culture and developed their own scenes, such as the one in Belgrade.

51 Chalfant, H. and Silver, T. (1983) *Style Wars*, PBS.

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Бојан Стевановић

Београд

WRITING MY NAME: ГРАФИТИ ПОКРЕТ У БЕОГРАДУ 1984–2003.
И ПРИЧА О ГРАФИТИ ЏЕМОВИМА 2006–2013.

Сажетак: Аутор се фокусирао на почетке и историју графити покрета у Београду. Због недостатка литературе, било је неопходно снимити интервјуе са неколицином активних цртача да би се ова историја уопште и написала, излистали главни учесници на сцени, разумеле технике, стилови и значење, представиле локације и генерално развој саме сцене. Новобеоградски Блок 45 се традиционално узима као почетна тачка графити покрета и једна од првих градских „мека“; узимају се у обзир и друге локације које су активирани ширењем графити културе по граду, формирање многих екипа/круова (crews), сарадња између самих графитера. Након почетних корака и малобројних примера током средине осамдесетих, графити покрет добија ветар у леђа од средине деведесетих када је формирана стабилнија и континуирана сцена. Краткотрајна пауза у раду многих дотадашњих графитера настала је 2003, а дотад је сцена сазрела, произвела неколико генерација графитера и добила значајну медијску пажњу. Томе су такође допринели организација неколико графити џемова од 1999. и постепено укључивање графита у званични уметнички свет. У другом делу чланка аутор пише о графити џемовима (graffiti jams), фестивалским окупљањима од велике важности за развој, зрелост и видљивост графити сцене, као и приликама за умрежавање графитера и нову продукцију. Џемови имају потенцијал да инспиришу младе и нове графитере и дају им могућност да виде и упознају старије, активне и релевантне графитере на сцени на једном месту. Аутор је учествовао у организацији бројних фестивала између 2006. и 2013. године, укључујући *Sabotaz Jam*, џемове на фестивалу *БЕЛЕФ* и *Сусрет стилова (Meeting of Styles)*. Представљен је кратак преглед џемова, њихова организациона позадина и значај за београдски (и српски) графити покрет.

Кључне речи: Београд, историја графити, графити џемови, *Meeting of Styles*