

From:

TANJA ZIMMERMANN (ED.)

Balkan Memories

Media Constructions of National
and Transnational History

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This book gives an insight into the media constructions of historical remembrance reflecting transnational, national or nationalistic forms of politics. Authors from post-Yugoslavia and neighbouring countries focus on the diverse transnational (such as Austro-Hungarian, Yugoslav etc.) and national (such as Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian etc.) memory cultures in South-Eastern Europe, their interference and rivalry. They examine constructions of memory in different media from the 19th century to recent wars. These include *longue durée* images, breaks and gaps, selection and suppression, traumatic events and the loss of memory, nostalgia, false memory, reactivation, rituals and traces of memory.

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Acknowledgements

In 2010, it seemed a utopian idea to gather specialists in cultural history from the various successor states of Yugoslavia and invite them to share their thoughts on the poetics, and the politics, of national as well as transnational memory. The young states have for a long time been interested in sharpening the profile of their identity and in reinterpreting cultural heritage within territorially defined limits of language and ethnicity. However, the moment seemed to have come to promote and consolidate a culture of respect for and attention to even former opponents, and to foster a dialogue, not only between research in South-Eastern Europe and in Germany but also in other countries of the “old Europe”. I am extremely thankful to all those who had the courage and resolution to create a forum for debate and for cultural exchange, a forum where well-known and established specialists joined ranks with students and young scientists at the beginning of their career.

We are all grateful to the German Academic Exchange Office (DAAD) for generously funding the workshop on Balkan memories, which took place in May 2010 in Ljubljana, as the initial meeting of the newly-founded network *Media and Memoria in South-Eastern Europe* (For more information see: <http://www.litwiss.uni-konstanz.de/fachgruppen/slavistik/forschung/media-and-memoria/>). The aim of the network is to assemble historians, art historians, literary theorists, media scholars and political scientists from South-Eastern Europe and Germany and create a forum for discussions on memories from different national and scientific perspectives. Our ambition is also to embed these topics of a dialogic cultural and political imagination in the graduate programs of various universities, so that young scholars and PhD students are provided an opportunity to discuss their projects in an international arena. The aim of this initial meeting was to encourage different forms of cooperation, such as joint workshops, conferences, publications, summer academies, excursions, the exchange of students and teachers between Germany and South-Eastern Europe as well as within South-Eastern Europe. In the DAAD, Anne Röring and Jana Schwarz contributed their experience in research administration and exchange in Eastern Europe. The DAAD also contributed substantially

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Introduction

TANJA ZIMMERMANN (KONSTANZ)

I. DOUBLE BINDS OF PAST AND PRESENT: ANACHRONISM AND THE REVIVAL OF MYTHS

Since the middle of the 1990s Maria Todorova (1994; 1997), Vesna Goldsworthy (1998), Slavoj Žižek (1998), David A. Norris (1999) and many others (Bjelić/Savić 2002; Schubert-Dahmen 2003; Bobinac/Müller-Funk 2008; Zimmermann 2008; Petrović 2009) have envisaged the Balkans as the embodiment of the figure of the Other in the cultural imagination both of the East and the West. In historical and contemporary discourses, the Balkans was always elsewhere, and thus nowhere, only a direction, a path in a labyrinth. While the “associative way” of nation building in Western and Eastern Europe, for example in Germany and Italy, Belgium or Poland was praised as a *telos* of history, the “dissociative way” of the Balkan states (Lemberg 1994a; 1994b: 603) was regarded as a dead end, leading to no stable form of identity. In several languages the toponym is a *plurale tantum*: the Balkans in English, les Balkans in French and Balkany in Russian. The hopelessly divided, corrupt and bankrupt states on the Balkans, political “powder kegs”, as numerous travelogues since the beginning of the 20th century reported, were regarded as the results of a failed attempt to implement the West European concept of nation building. The result was not autonomy, but heteronomous fragmentation. Situated between the most belated autocracies, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, ever since they entered into the international political scenario, were a *locus* of secondary origins or belated beginnings – of copied, recycled, retarded, reiterated, circular, parasitical and simulacral identities, as Jean Baudrillard’s statements about the siege of Sarajevo in 1993 demonstrate (Zimmermann 2009). The causes for contemporary wars were constantly found in circulation of ancient, if not eternal myths (Stevanović 2008). Parallels were drawn between previous wars and conflicts and contemporary ones. According to Holm Sundhussen (2000; 2001; 2004), during the Milošević era in Serbia, three completely

different historical periods were equated and considered to be successive phases in the historical salvation of the Serbian people – the medieval battle against the Ottoman Empire, the suffering under the Ustaša and the Nazi terror during the Second World War, and the contemporary conflicts with the Albanians in Kosovo. In the Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadžić parallelized the shellfire on Sarajevo with the battle of Christian Serbs against the Muslim invasion. Also in Croatia, old ethnic and religious conflicts from the 19th century onwards were remembered simultaneously with contemporary conflicts (Sundhaussen 2004). In all the new nations, old symbols were readily recycled for new political meanings. In Western Europe, the Serbs were parallelized, on the contrary, with the Nazis (Hume 2000; Hammond 2007: 52), whereas in Russia the Kosovar Albanians were equalized with the Chechens (Arbatov 2000). During the 1990s, also literature, war photography and film constantly referred to earlier wars and to the holocaust (Horn 1998; Goulding 2002; Beganović/Braun 2007; Zimmermann 2009; Becker/Beham 2006). Photographs already marked by pathos and well-known stereotypes could even become a source for comic strips, as Hermann Huppen's *Sarajevo-Tango* (1995) and Joe Kubert's *Fax from Sarajevo: A Story of Survival* (1996). The fictional film about the Balkans, on the other hand, used documentary sources and combined them with fictional images, as in Jean-Luc Godards *Notre musique* (2004) (Thiele 2006). The true referent was suspended and replaced by a chain of analogies.

Balkan stereotypes not only marked the name and the image of the Balkans, but also inscribed themselves into their memory cultures. Anachronisms and revivals were already part of the Yugoslav official politics before and after the Second World War. Shortly after the rupture with the Soviet Union in 1948, the Croatian writer and leading Yugoslav intellectual Miroslav Krleža (1893-1981) promoted not only in politics, but also in culture a “third way” between East and West (Zimmermann 2010; Zimmermann 2012). According to Krleža, the “third path” already had been heralded in medieval times on the territory of the later Yugoslavia. Especially the Bosnian sect of the Bogomils had supposedly developed some kind of “socialism” and abandoned the ideology of the Eastern and the Western Church. “The contemporary socialist anticipation”, argued Krleža, “is only the dialectic counterpart of a whole series of our medieval anticipations” (Kerleja 1950: 14; Krleža 1950: 54). Anticipation became Krleža's catchword for Yugoslav culture. Previous cultural manifestations in the southern Slavic region such as the missionary work of Cyril and Methodius, conducted in the Slavic language, the sect of the Bogomils and the autochthone Serbian church were in his view proleptic announcements of the coming of the socialist empire, which found its culmination in Tito's Yugoslavia. The separation between past and present was overcome by the belief that the past not only participated in the present, but also foretells the future as prophecy. At the 3rd Congress of Yugoslav writers in 1952, Krleža spoke even of an interference of centuries penetrating each other.

Yugoslav culture was believed to be closed into its own circular *chronotopos* where early phenomena stimulated and predicted the later ones. Through the prism of anticipation, Krleža turned the old hegemonial cultural transfer from the progressive West to the backward South-East upside down. He claimed that several cultural manifestations, which developed first on Yugoslav territory, had not been able to experience a cultural peak, because they were suppressed by dominant cultures. Thereby, he moved the Balkans, a patchwork of provinces at the edge of European civilisation, into the very centre.

Whereas for Krleža a bond with the past was a promise of a glorious future of Yugoslavia, the Serbian writer Radomir Konstantinović (1928-2011) perceived it in more pessimistic terms. In his work *Philosophy of the province (Filozofija palanke)*, written in 1969, he claimed that Yugoslav culture is excluded from the flow of history and staged in the midst between archaic clan structures and international society. Thus, the Yugoslav community lives in permanent traditionalism and in archaic infantilism. In some kind of timeless eternity, the living cohabit with dead people. The Serbian film director Želimir Žilnik, one of the founders of the so called “black wave” in Yugoslav film, parodies this anachronism, the permanent presence of an ongoing past, in the imagination of the Balkan people. In his semidocumentary film *Tito for the second time among the Serbs*, presented in 1994, he let a film actor, dressed like the late president Tito (+1980) walk along the streets of Belgrade, discussing with inhabitants of different generations the golden communist past and the dark post-communist presence. His ‘Tito’ thus represents an allegory of the Balkan past, returning like the undead into the present.

In Tito’s Yugoslavia, the alliance between past and presence, autarchy and internationalism, as Krleža and other ideologists of the “third way” formulated it, was promoted in different areas of culture. In the field of music, folk songs were mixed with pop to form a new genre of ethno pop – a phenomenon that could be observed at almost every Eurovision Song Contest up to now. Several Yugoslav film directors, especially Emir Kusturica, combined the image of modern Yugoslavia with the hyperbolic ‘primitive’ Balkans represented by the gypsies, who served to supply his spectators from Western and Eastern Europe with the Balkan stereotypes originating in a seemingly permanent archaism. In Yugoslav abstract painting, the achievements of the international avant-gardes merged with local folk ornamentalism. Besides the modern art currents, ‘naïve’, self-taught peasants and workers, believed to draw on the subterranean styles of ancient Bogomilian and folk art, were given particularly support. The Yugoslav tourist office advertised the supposedly primordial, autarchic way of life of the country’s people, but at the same time afforded foreign guests all the comforts of modern luxury life. In the field of international politics, Yugoslavia distanced itself from the Eastern and Western blocs, but engaged in international contacts on other continents such as Africa

and Asia. Thus, memories of otherness became an important factor in the Yugoslav international politics of the 1950s and 1960s.

Several studies about the Balkans, published during the war period in the 1990s, argue that nowhere historical memory is so closely attached to the present as in this region – an idea already criticized by Pal Kolstø (2005: 1). Their authors see the Balkans as being so obsessed with myths that even the boundary between history and poetry, between reality and imagination had been erased. War atrocities were believed to be relics of ancient mythical rituals which had been brought again to the surface.

During our lifetime, a new desire and a predisposition for mythical thinking has spread that was unthinkable after the destructive debacle of myths caused by the Second World War. Especially in South Eastern Europe, now a burning region of crisis, and here especially amongst the Serbs – but not only with them –, one could since long observe that old mythical traditions in particular in poetry were reconsidered, reinterpreted and revived. [...] These myths, which had previously flourished in the purposeless garden of poetry, came to life, and began to rage (Lauer 1992: 107f.) [...] A bloodthirsty, ritualistic outburst of rage against the dead enemy erupts from atavistic depths, but of course it is nothing else but a destruction of the last remains of humanity in the perpetrator himself. It is about such heroes and their deeds that the people sang their songs. (Ibid.: 127)

Especially the Serbian epics about brutal heroes such as prince Marko (*kraljević Marko*) were believed to preserve a mythical core which had imprinted itself into the war atrocities of the 1990s. This specific Balkan attitude to myths, which doesn't distinguish between poetry and reality, between past and present, was blamed for nationalistic excesses, civil war and genocide. The thesis of the particular entrenchment of mythical narratives in South Eastern Europe has much in common with the romantic belief that folk poetry expresses a totality of life, it's past and present. Already the German historian Leopold von Ranke regarded Serbian epics as a defining part of the historical "memory" of the Serbs. In his study *The Serbian Revolution (Die serbische Revolution. Aus serbischen Papieren und Mitteilungen, Hamburg 1829)*, primarily influenced by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's collection of songs, he considers the folk songs to be part of an anonymous *oral history* – long before the term established itself in historical research. In the first chapter entitled "State of Affairs before Agitation: National Sense of Being and Poetry" ("Lage der Dinge vor den Bewegungen. Nationale Sinnesweise und Poesie"), Ranke observes close links between Serbian poetry and the Serbian nation and history, which had always given preference to the collective over individuals.

These poems appear to be the collective product of national interests and orientations. No one seemed to know the names of poets of the newest poems;

one even avoided taking claim for them, and seldom did people ask. [...] The people regard them almost as natural occurrences. (Ranke 1829: 35)

All across the land, in the mountains, the plains and forests, the echo of the heroes' song could be heard, according to Ranke. For him, the folk songs, instead of illustrating the objects and people they were dealing with, themselves testify to a life experience within which they had been produced. Thus, history is communicated to and related with the present by means of folk songs. By reciting them, the past is transformed into a living, up-to-date history.

While Ranke emphasized the integration of the past into the present in Serbian epic songs, Cyprien Robert, Professor for Slavic Studies at the Collège de France, highlighted its power to conserve the past in an unchanged form. In his study "The Gusle and Slavic Folk Songs" ("Le gouslo et la poésie populaire des slaves", 1853), he praises Serbian epics for having fortified the heroic spirit of the Serbian warriors against Islam.

The centuries pass by, and with them society changes and is transformed, but the new works of the *gouslars* still resemble the old ones. In the whirlwind of our fashions and arts, the *gouslo* remains intact, like the centuries old oaks of the virgin forests whose roots incessantly push up offshoots just like the worm-eaten old trunk which produced them; it is in poetry that the brotherhood of Slavic nations is manifested with the most evidence [...]. (Robert 1853: 1163)

What Ranke and Robert expressed in their writings wasn't only a romantic idea. They also reacted to the Serbian folk culture's recent development into a medium of the political movement that defined explicit political claims. In this way, folk songs became a medium for remembering the past as well as a political means for constructing the future. The heroic epics collected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and translated into German by Herder (Keck 1996: 25), into French by Prosper Mérimée (Kohler 2009) and into Russian by Alexander Pushkin (Dvojčenko-Markova 1979: 63, 73), not only articulated the partial desire of the Serbs to fight for freedom, but also the general yearning of the European peoples to push the Ottoman Empire out of Europe. A secularized crusade begun in Greece, in 1829.

As asserted by the Croatian literary scholar Ivo Žanić (2002; 2007: 63) in his comprehensive media-anthropological study *Flag on the mountain. A Political Anthropology of War in Croatia and Bosnia*, the folk song was given a central role during the nationalist war propaganda in the 1990s, especially in the Republika Srpska, governed by Radovan Karadžić, and was thus a case of "political musicology". The songs orchestrated public electoral campaigns and were also transmitted through television and the radio for this purpose. What at first sight appeared to be Balkan folklore, proved to be at second glance a modern mass-media phenomenon: precisely this alliance between folklore and popular mass media increased

the effectiveness of the newly formed ideology. The heroic epics, finally, coded in *gusle* music, were meant to increase the ideological contrast to the western mass media. Thus, archaic folklore was not so much a form of regression, but a deliberate, well targeted act of anti-western, nationalistic demonstration. On the symbolic and ideological level, the idiosyncratic sound was launched as an appeal to return to the origins of the nation. And on their ground, the territorial history was meant to be rewritten – inscribed into the soil also by means of civil war and terror.

In her analysis of *Excitable speech. A politics of the performative* (1997), Judith Butler emphasizes that in hate-filled speech and racist statements “the speaker renews the symbols of the community by re-circulating and thereby reviving such speech” (Butler 2006: 67ff.). She focuses on the phenomenon of updating certain contents, which begin to circulate and thus display their performative force. For Butler, hate speech functions as a kind of quote and sediment of language. Precisely the repetition of certain words transforms language into an encoded memory and fills it with historicity. The “raging of myths” in the Balkans, following Butler, should not be considered as a mythical, regressive way of remembering the past and a return to the mythic origin, but rather as a belated reproduction as well as displacement of the origin from the future into a past that, however, is always still to come, in the sense of *Nachträglichkeit* (afterwardsness). The war atrocities in the 1990s on the Balkans should therefore not be considered in a context of some specific “Balkan phenomenology”, but in the broader context of racism. According to Slavoj Žižek (2001: 4f.), the Western perception of the Balkans as a place of ethnic horror, intolerance and primitive, irrational passions essentially contributed to the formation of a modern form of racism, too long tolerated as a new political form of Otherness and expressed through anachronistic, archaic, and atavistic events.

II. MEMORIES – NATIONAL, TRANSNATIONAL, IN CONFLICT

Memory cultures in the Balkans are marked by synchronic coexistence or even rivalry within different national and transnational concepts. The gradual decay of the Ottoman Empire from the early 19th till the early 20th century was accompanied by the discovery of national histories of subjugated nations and the construction of their origins (Kolstø 2005). Christian nations cherished memories of the glorious past of the Byzantine, Serbian, Montenegrin and Bulgarian medieval kingdoms before their decline during the 14th and 15th century, that is after the Ottoman invasion (Behschnitt 1980; Perica 2002). The Muslim Bosnians, since 1878 an Austro-Hungarian protectorate, started to construct their own identity based on religion as well as on the Slavic language (Donia 1981; Džaja 1994; Babuna 1996; Haselsteiner 1996). Supported by the government of Benjámín von Kalláy, who attempted to prevent a transnational pan-Slavic

movement from taking the lead (Okey 2007), they discovered their own medieval tradition based on the Bogomil myth (Lovrenović 2008). After the decay of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Croats and Slovenes joined the polyphony of Balkan memories with their myths of the national origin during medieval times. In the 1990s, after the breakdown of communism and during the period of the Yugoslav dissolution wars, the history of nations in South Eastern Europe was rewritten from a nationalistic point of view and the old myths were revived (Bremer/Popov/Stobbe 1998; Brunnbauer 2004; Brunnbauer/Troebst 2007; Brunnbauer/Helmedach/Troebst 2007; Melčić 2007; Kuljić 2010; Čolović 2011; Djokić/Ker-Lindsay 2011). Today, in the anticipation of EU entry and aiming at reconciling the neighbouring nations, historians and schoolbook writers in South Eastern Europe are again rewriting their national histories from a more moderate point of view. Thus, the Balkan memories are not only marked by a plurality of several national histories, but also by a polyphony and a permanent rewriting within each national history.

In this anthology, Nenad Makuljević explores how memory culture was established in Serbia during the late 19th and early 20th century. The interest for patrimony manifested itself in the care for cultural heritage and in the erection of monuments, especially of memorial churches and chapels to commemorate national heroes or important historical events. Ivana Živančević-Sekeruš analyzes motives on Serbian banknotes – the visual symbols of a country's sovereignty and national identity – and investigates how they changed due to economic and political events. Bojana Bursać Džalto describes the symbolic function of the fortress of Belgrade which bears traces of a long and multicultural history for the inhabitants of the capital. Davor Dukić's contribution is dedicated to the processes of resignification of the national past in the film *The Long Dark Night* (*Duga mračna noć*, 2004) by Antun Vrdoljak. The Croatian film director endeavoured to realize a modern national epic by avoiding controversial topics, such as the Ustaša atrocities, the holocaust, and the collaboration of the church with the Nazi regime. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the war experience of the 1990s became a central element of memory culture. Riccardo Nicolosi explores various strategies of disintegration in Bosnian literature, dealing with the siege of Sarajevo. Narratives of memory, fractured in fragments, different perceptions and non-linear time structures correspond to the state of emergency in the besieged city. Enver Kazaz's contribution deals with the disparity and antagonism between the memories of all three nations in Bosnia, politically indoctrinated for nationalistic aims, and the anti-war literature, which tries to destroy heroic as well as victimized identities. Andrea Lešić explores cognitive poetics in literature and explains how literary tropes of metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche organize and conceptualize memory on different levels of narration from objects to narrative strategies. Ana Karaminova analyses a video by the Bulgarian artist Nadezda Oleg Lyahova and proposes a form

of analysis that shows how video art can be used as a historical source affecting our memory of historical events.

With the founding of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, there also began the construction of a common, transnational memory of the three leading South Slavic nations (Wachtel 1998). In 1929 the kingdom was renamed Yugoslavia to strengthen the integrative forces of the Serbian dominated state that had to combat national antagonisms. The pan-Slavic ideas from the 19th century, such as the Croatian Illyrian movement, but also other pan-Slavic concepts from Czechoslovakia and Russia, were revived. Already during the First World War, Croatian and Serbian cultural workers and politicians, united in a London-based Yugoslav Committee, began to promote a new common state of the South Slavs. With the support of the Scottish historian Robert William Seton Watson, author of the book *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (London 1911) and member of the British Ministry of Information, the committee organized an exhibition called “The ruins of the Kosovo temple” by the pan-Slavic Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. Meštrović, who already at the international art exhibition in Rome 1911 presented his work in a Serbian instead of the Austro-Hungarian pavilion (Clegg 2002), staged sculptures of dying heroes, their widows with their children and nations enslaved, representing the medieval battle and defeat against the Ottoman Empire on the Kosovo Field, inspired by the Serbian epics. Instead of using specific stylistic features of different South Slavic cultures, the sculptor created a syncretistic artistic language based on ancient Egyptian, Babylonian-Assyrian and Greek art as well as on Michelangelo and Rodin to construct a common heroic expression of the South Slavs. The exhibition, accompanied by readings, lectures and pamphlets, was a successful media spectacle that aimed to convince the international diplomacy that the South Slavs under the leading role of the heroic Serbs had to found and build their own multinational state. After the establishment of the multinational South Slavic state, their common mythology was soon overtaken by the present antagonism of nations. During the 1930s, the period when racial ideologies of blood and soil emerged all over Europe, in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, too, the belief in a common future was forgotten.

After the Second World War, which in Yugoslavia was also a civil war, the partisan leader and president of the new, socialistic Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito attempted to unify the different Yugoslav nations by constructing a common transnational state – and memory. Until 1948 Tito, following the Soviet example, had been planning to build a new Balkan and Danube federation, which would not only include the Federative Communist Republic of Yugoslavia as a *summa partiorum*, but also Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and – after the expected victory of the Communists led by general Marcos – also Greece (Gibienskij 1987; Zimmermann 2010). In this short period between 1945 and 1948, front pages of Yugoslav newspapers featured Soviet festive and commemoration

days as if they were part of the Yugoslav national memory. The plans for the Balkan federation failed due to Soviet politics that were directed towards the domination of the whole of Eastern Europe, thereby also dashing Yugoslavia's aspirations to take on the leading role among communist countries. Tito's ideologists abandoned Lenin's and Stalin's revision of communism and returned to the origins – the early works of Marx and Engels. They introduced the so-called workers' self-management, designed to replace the Soviet model of state bureaucracy (Jakir 2011), and proclaimed the socialist paradise *hic et nunc* by interpreting capitalistic phenomena as socialist achievements (Dimitrijević 2005). Suddenly there was no further talk of the pan-Slavic brotherhood with the Soviets, who were now compared, following Orientalist stereotypes, with Tatars who plunder and enslave entire nations.

After Stalin's break with Tito and the exclusion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the Yugoslav leader and his followers adopted the term "third path" as a keyword to designate the autonomy of Yugoslav politics during the Cold War and its manoeuvring between two global powers. Originally, the term was coined by the Soviets to denigrate the Yugoslav deviation from the Soviet "straight line" as a sort of undecided *juste milieu*. During the 1950s, however, Tito and his ideologists incorporated the term into their political vocabulary and turned it into a positive slogan. After the extremely well-attended conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade 1961, the new ideology of the "third way" – even of a "third world", underscored Yugoslavia's distinction both from the East and from the West. Various (also invented) memories, historical pasts and cultural concepts of the Yugoslav nations were adapted to the image of the "new" multinational Yugoslavia (Höpken 1999; Richter/Bayer 2006).

As we have seen, already Tito's ideologists such as Miroslav Krleža projected the "third path" into the medieval period (Zimmermann 2010): the Slavic "apostles" Cyril and Methodius, the Serbian autochthonous church and especially the medieval Bosnian heretic sect of the Bogomils – all these heresies between the Eastern and the Western church were credited to the account of the "third path". The integration of the Yugoslav nations, projected into a distant past, seemed to be marked by a simultaneous separation from Eastern and Western culture. In the country itself, "brotherhood and unity" (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*) of all nations was promoted also in Marxist terms: the nation was depicted as an obsolete concept under the conditions of socialism, the socialist paradise had to be defended against external enemies, national differences were minimized to the level of different folkloristic flavours, new mythologies of the common partisan combat recoded the attachment to the Yugoslav soil (Jakiša 2010; 2011). Also, the Tito cult and new rituals such as the carrying of the relay baton through all the Yugoslav republics on his birthday on the 25th May, widely broadcast on all TV channels, made him the embodiment of unity (Živojinović 2008). The leader cult around Tito, mixed with elements of folk and pop culture, served as a symbol of partisan brotherhood and of a

common Yugoslav history (Brkljačić 2003; Sretenović/Puto 2004; Petzer 2006; Grigorov 2006; Živojinović 2010). In general, the Balkan clichés which had dominated the perception of the Balkans since the 19th century as a territory of lawlessness, plundering, blood feud, terror, mutual hatred and massacres among nations were pushed aside during the Tito era. Yugoslavia presented itself on the international stage as a bridge between East and West and a messianic land of brotherhood and unity of all worlds' nations.

Also, the socialistic Yugoslav historiography and school books interpreted the civil war simply as a war of Nazi collaborators against the partisans and made little distinction between the Slovenian Domobranci, the Croatian Ustaša, the Serbian Četnici and the Muslim military group, the 13th Waffen-Gebirgs-Division of the SS "Handschar" (Sundhausen 1971). Memories on the Yugoslav holocaust in Jasenovac in Croatia, Staro Sajmište in Belgrade and other concentration camps (Goldstein 2001; 2004; Mataušić 2003; 2008; Karge 2010: 185-224) were presented without complete documentary material simply as places of an abstract, fascist suppression. People had to wait until the early 1990's before the atrocities of the holocaust as well as of the civil war committed in these camps were shown in photographs and widely discussed. However, even then pathos-laden documentations rarely distinguished between the victims from various ethnic, political and religious groups. Memory strategies were simply recoded from Titoism to the new context of rising nationalism. Under Titoism, memories of partisan atrocities such as the Bleiburg Field in Carinthia in 1945 and of Yugoslav gulags on the Adriatic islands of Goli otok and Sveti Grgur as well as at Stara Gradiška and Lepoglava were suppressed. A wider critical public discussion was only possible after the late 1980s, when Tito's camps were commemorated first in literature and personal confessions (Gruenewald 1987; Münnich 2005), and only later by historians (Banac 1988).

Several contributions in this volume are dedicated to socialistic strategies of creating a common transnational memory. Miranda Jakiša stresses the importance of the partisan film and its romanticizing picture of heroic people and actions for the formation of an imaginary territory, the common homeland of Yugoslavia in its contours on the map. The 'telluric' (close to the earth) warfare of partisan combat, moving close to the ground with an excellent knowledge of homeland terrain, strengthened memories of a supranational community united through common resistance. Reana Senjković explores strategies in the Yugoslav youth magazines of the 1970s in mediating the Yugoslav partisan past to the young generations. The high-circulation magazine *Tina*, modeled on contemporary Western girls' magazines, dealt with everyday problems of adolescents, as if there were no difference between the generations of the partisans and their children. Jasna Galjer illustrates the role of exhibitions in socialist Yugoslavia as a medium of promoting its specific transnational cultural and political identity in opposition to the East Block. At the same time, she criticizes

that Yugoslavia is presented in recent exhibitions in Western Europe as if there were no difference between Titoism and the Warsaw Pact countries.

Already during the 1960s and 1970s the Tito cult had been adapted to modern mass media and to the marketing strategies for younger generations. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, it did not disappear altogether. It continued as a post-socialist nostalgia, attached less to Tito's political ideals than to ironically recycled relicts and in pastiches of the communist period (Velikonja 2008), a strategy that soon turned out to be a post-modern signature of post-communist and post-war Balkan identities. The Tito cult became an empty pathos formula, depoliticized and deprived of the ethical aims of the partisan struggle against the fascists and of "brotherhood and unity" amongst nations. He became a media figure, which got its own home pages such as <http://www.titoville.com> in Slovenia or <http://marsal.blog.hr> in Croatia, animated by chat sites. Even outside the Yugoslav territory, Tito continues to spread his nostalgic flair, as for example during the events of the Kulturfabrik Kampnagel in Hamburg in June 2007, a mixture of postmodern theatre performances, music and film presentations, accompanied by lectures and discussions on Tito for "beginners". Already in the 1990s two films parodied nostalgic tendencies in former Yugoslavia. The Serbian filmmaker Željimir Žilnik, mentioned before, has resurrected Tito and let him talk with the nostalgic old generation. The Croatian filmmaker Vinko Brešan presents the leader in his film *Marshall Tito's Spirit* (1999) as a popular figure for commercial purposes, selling the illusions of a socialist Disneyland, the tourist oasis "Sozialism" on an Adriatic island. He is meant to attract partisan veterans and communists from former Yugoslavia as well as nostalgic guests from China and Russia. According to Svetlana Slapšak (2011), the post-Yugoslav para-nostalgia veils ethnic differences that marked social reality already in Tito's Yugoslavia. Thus, the "Yugo Nostalgia", established with a playful disrespect of the memory of the others, can paradoxically orchestrate even new nationalist narratives.

The phenomenon of nostalgia is not only limited to commercial objects such as cups and T-shirts, music and film from the former Yugoslavia, but emerges also in literature where it is at the same time ironized. Anisa Avdagić explores a new discourse on nostalgia in contemporary Bosnian-Herzegovinian short stories which neither demonize nor idealize the former communist community, but attempt at re-evaluating the ideological bases of later separation. Alma Denić-Grabić analyzes a relationship of trauma and nostalgia in the novels of the exile authors Dubravka Ugrešić and Jasna Šamić. The literary techniques they employ include editing, collage, as well as the poetics of a diary or an unfinished album. Davor Beganović sums up the results of Yugo-nostalgia, following Svetlana Boym's (2001) distinction between reflective and restorative approaches to the past. In his interpretation of Aleksandar Hemon's novels, he presents the subversive strategies of irony that aim to overcome the idealized, "false" image of Yugoslavia. Tihomir Brajović, referring to Goethe's oak tree in Buchenwald, traces transitions of the motif in contemporary

Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian novels, where it stands for a figure of memories transposed from the Second World War to the Post-Yugoslav wars in the 1990s. Thus, a common Balkan memory occurs precisely where it was erased by war and genocide.

As the Balkans was stereotyped by East and West, also Balkan memories provided their own stereotyped perceptions of other nations. Bojana Stojanović Pantović explores the ambiguous relationship towards German culture in the travelogues of the Serbian writer Miloš Crnjanski's, shaped by the popular *Völkerpsychologie*. On his journeys through Germany in the 1920s and early 1930s he admires hard work, order and discipline of the people, but at the same time criticizes their mentality of collective subordination to the leader.

As a zone where national and transnational memories competed on the diachronic as well as synchronic axis, Balkan memories were often written from different points of view and in conflict to each other. Renata Novak Klemenčič demonstrates how political changes had an immediate impact on art-historical writing about Dalmatia. Whereas for Italian irredentists Dalmatian art represented an indigenous Latin art, the Croatian art historians, reacting to such claims, emphasized its specific local Slavic character. Dalmatia was a kind of seismograph of historical turns also after the Second World War and after the Yugoslav dissolution wars. Aleksandar Jakir analyses the situation in contemporary public discussion in Dalmatia over the Antifascist-struggle and the Partisan crimes at the Bleiburg Field in Carinthia. The counter narratives of the Croatian memory policy affected the preservation of partisan monuments and the rewriting of school books. Marjeta Ciglencečki analyses monuments to the National War of Liberation in Slovenia, which in contrast to other East European countries survived relatively unscathed. In her case study she focuses on Slovene Styria, where during the Second World War part of the population supported Germany, and she documents conflicts in the public discussion over partisan monuments after the fall of communism. Branimir Janković examines how the Croatian historiography of the 1990s, pursuing revisionist and nationalist goals, dealt with the Marxist past. In the last decade he traces a revival of Marxist phrases in a new context of students' protests, demanding free education and criticizing neoliberal capitalism.

III. MASS MEDIA AND THE SHAPING OF THE BALKAN MEMORIES

Mass media that shaped memory cultures since the beginning of the 19th century were closely intertwined with contemporary political actions. Historic painting by French philhellenic artists, showing in emphatic manner the suffering of the Greek nation under the Ottoman rule, exhibited in Parisian salons and reproduced in the Western European

illustrated press during the 1820s, had a role in preparing the intervention of European forces against the Ottoman Empire (Kepetzis 2009). At the same time, paintings formed the image of the Balkans as a lawless area where weak and innocent people were slaughtered like animals. In the 1870s, when the South Slavs struggled for their liberty, the illustrated press in Western Europe and Russia reproduced similar affective and appellative images of suffering in an oriental manner, painted by the Paris based Czech Jaroslav Čermák and other artists supporting the South Slavs (Baleva 2009). The Russian press invited volunteers to help the Orthodox brothers on the Balkans. Even writers such as Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy commented political campaigns or used them as a motif in their novels *The Brothers Karamazov* and *Anna Karenina*.

Political transformations and medial turns often coincided and reinforced each other. In the first half of the 20th century, the radio accompanied images in the illustrated press, now increasingly presented in the context of photo reportages. TV was introduced in Yugoslavia relatively early, in the early 1960s and played a central role during the dissolution of Yugoslavia (Kolstrø 2009). Jurij Murašov shows in this volume the effects of its introduction onto the political rhetoric of Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović. The speeches of the later opponents became more locally coloured, more idiomatic and speech act orientated. During the period, when the regional media centres in different Yugoslav republics were established, the national differences in Yugoslavia were accentuated. Historians such as Dejan Djokić (2003) had derived the causes of the dissolution of Yugoslavia directly from the deficit of integrative elements. Miroljub Radojković gives us here an overview over the Yugoslav media before and during the wars of disintegration in the 1990s. He explains how the common information space of socialistic Yugoslavia fell apart and became a tool of new nationalist political elites.

The mass media influenced also the visibility of important historical events in public perception. Ana Milojević and Aleksandra Ugrinić compare the weak echo to the fall of the Iron Curtain in the Serbian newsprint media in 1989, before the Yugoslav wars, and again in 1999, during the war in Kosovo and the bombing of Belgrade when a redefinition of the political system took place in Yugoslavia. In both circumstances, the most momentous European political event was not perceived in connection with the circumstances in Yugoslavia; it just passed by.

From the Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913 (Keisinger 2008) until the dissolution wars in the 1990s, the manipulation of the mass media on the Balkans and about the Balkans became the central topic of Balkan memories (Gow/Paterson/Preston 1996; Höpken 1996; Žanić, 2007 [1998]; Thompson 1999; Brunner Skopljanac 2000; Popov 2000; Kostrø 2009; Petrović 2009). This phenomenon was used even by Jean Baudrillard to underscore his postmodern media theory of simulacra (Zimmermann 2009). In this volume Dunja Melčić analyses a case study of two different reports about Franjo Tuđman's meeting with his generals, concerning

the military action “Storm”, during which the Serbs were expelled from Croatia. She demonstrates how investigative journalism can abuse secret material and transform documentary into fiction or how headlines, using the vocabulary of the Shoah like “the final solution”, provoke allusions to the Second World War.

Thus, the Balkan memories seem to be a permanent media event. They are in a process of constant rediscovery and rewriting, but only to repeat the image of the Balkans which stays constant. Thus, although they belong to the past, they are at the same time present and reanimated in new media. As such, they gain performative force and affect by their revivals culture and politics. Postmodern strategies in literature, film and other media transform them into moving significant that like the gorges of the Balkans have a labyrinthine structure of a *mise en abyme*.

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