

15.–16. 9. 2022, Ljubljana

# SYMPOSIUM MEMORY CULTURE IN FLUX: FROM POST-YUGOSLAVIA TO CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS

## POST-YUGOSLAV CULTURES OF MEMORY

# Post-Yugoslav Cultures of Memory

Day 1 of two-day symposium Memory Culture in Flux: From Post-Yugoslavia to Conceptual Problems

**Organisers of day 1:**

Gal Kirn and Ana Hofman

**Organising partners:**

The Faculty of Arts, The Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in cooperation with Södertörn University

**Funded by:**

Slovenian Research Agency and Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies - research projects:

- »Protest, art practices and culture of memory in the (post)Yugoslav context« (ARRS J6-3144)
- »Distrusting Monuments. Art and War in the Former Yugoslavia« (21-PR2-0015)

**Location:**

Geographical Museum, Gosposka ulica 13, 1000 Ljubljana,  
Modra soba, FF (Aškerčeva 2), 1000 Ljubljana

**Working language:**

English

## INTRODUCTORY TEXT

What role has memory, memorial and historical revisionism played in the postsocialist transition, in creation of new nation-states in (post)Yugoslav context? If new official state memory, founded on nationalist glories and victimhood, overwritten the former official state memory, traces of alternative remainders and nostalgic reactions and structural feeling evidently resurfaced in multiple collective practices? Due to a strong and negative orientation towards Yugoslav socialist and revolutionary legacies, the persistence of more progressive and nostalgic structural feelings among the wide population across ethnic borders points to a deep disagreement that carries political, and economic, and not only cultural implications. Invited papers will address diverse topics that deal with the official discourses and counter-hegemonic practices, both its emancipatory potentials and its limits, exhaustion in the deepening of social and economic rifts across the post-Yugoslav region.

## PROGRAM

10:00 – 10:15

### **Introduction**

*Gal Kirm and Ana Hofman*

10:15 – 11:45

### **Chair**

*Cecilia Sjöholm,  
Södertörn University*

### **Understanding the break up of Yugoslavia through the prism of the »primitive accumulation of memory«**

*Gal Kirm, Faculty of Arts,  
Ljubljana*

### **»Micro Antifascism«: Post- Yugoslav Activist Memory Practices**

*Ana Hofman, Research  
Centre of Slovenian  
Academy of Sciences  
and Arts*

11:45 – 12:15

Coffee Break

12:15 – 13:45

### **Chair**

*Martin Pogačar, Research  
Centre of Slovenian Academy  
of Sciences and Arts*

### **From the Obliteration of Remembrance to the Muralization of War: Transformations of Post-YU Cultures of Memory**

*Vjeran Pavlaković,  
University of Rijeka*

### **A Problem with (Yugo) nostalgia**

*Tanja Petrović, Research  
Centre of Slovenian  
Academy of Sciences  
and Arts*

15:30 – 17:00

### **Chair**

*Katja Kobolt, Research  
Centre of Slovenian Academy  
of Sciences and Arts*

### **Worker politics beyond nostalgia**

*Andrew Gilbert, University of  
Bremen and Larisa Kurtović,  
University of Ottawa*

### **Local film festivals, Balkan film, and collective memory in the post-Yugoslav space**

*Jasmina Šepetavc and  
Natalija Majsova, Faculty of  
Social Sciences, Ljubljana*

*Gal Kirn*

Sociology Department, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana

### **Understanding the break up of Yugoslavia through the prism of the »primitive accumulation of memory«**

Sketching out central stakes of both research projects I would like to address in what way memory became the primary site of the ideological struggle. Memory, capital, war - in what way do these fields intersect and interact? Transition, or rather social transformation of socialist Yugoslavia presented a heavy ideo-logicoo-political and artistic de/re/construction of once shared political and ideological imaginaries, but especially major wars, the World War II and the recent wars in the 1990s have left strong marks onto the individual and collective memory. I will elaborate on the analytical frame of Marx's concept of »primitive accumulation of capital« that has been recently reactualised in understanding of postsocialist transition and neoliberal restructuration. Primitive accumulation of capital speaks of violent and also non-economic processes that are put in place in the moments of origins, but also during the crisis, or transitions. I will first attempt to point out in what way »primitive accumulation of memory« can contribute to deeper understanding of the Yugoslav break up, sketching out the specific functioning of instances, where revisionism and capital meet. This might be also seen as a Marxian contribution to the field of critical memory studies that has been long neglecting the link between memory and political economy.

*Gal Kirn* is an assistant professor of sociology of culture and a research associate at the University of Ljubljana. He has been working for last 10 years in the German academic context (Institute of Cultural Inquiry - ICI Berlin, Humboldt University, TU Dresden, GWZO Leipzig). He is also affiliated with Södertörn University (Sweden) and a part of international research group Partisan Resistances (University of Grenoble). Kirn's research has focused on the theme of transition in (post)socialist context, in particularly in the fields of art, politics and memory in the period of national liberation struggle and the socialist Yugoslavia. He led a research project Counter Archives (Rosa Luxemburg Foundation at ICI Berlin) and published two monographs Partisan Ruptures (Pluto Press, 2019) and Partisan Counter-Archive (De Gruyter, 2020). Kirn recently co-edited (with Natasha Ginalwa and Niloufar Tajeri) a volume Nights of the Dispossessed. Riots Unbound (Columbia Press, 2021), and with Marian Burchardt Beyond Neoliberalism (Palgrave, 2017).

*Ana Hofman*

Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

### **»Micro Antifascism«: Post-Yugoslav Activist Memory Practices**

This talk concentrates on the contested mnemonic status of the historical experience of Yugoslav antifascist resistance (the People's Liberation Struggle, PLS) in its contemporary revitalizations after Yugoslavia. It centers the ambiguous meanings and struggles over the so-called historical antifascism and that of contemporary antifascism that coexist in often unexpected ways in post-Yugoslav practice of singing activism. In their attempt to distance from what they see is a "depolitized" use of antifascism by the political elites as an "empty slogan" or "declarative stance," activists opt for what they call »micro-antifascisms« (mali antifašizmi) – a way of contemporary politicization of the historical legacy of PLS as an action-oriented, everyday practice that stands in opposition to state-promoted "macro" antifascisms (both in past and present). At the centre of my examination are the consequences of understanding antifascism as a moral and ethical concept beyond "ideological system" or "state structure." I aim to address following questions: How do tendencies of recalling antifascism within the wider framework of transnational revolutionary and decolonial struggles, protests and socially engaged movements? What are the consequences of employing antifascism as a platform for critically addressing and sometimes openly confronting systemic structures in the post-socialist context where Yugoslav antifascism was institutionalized value and practice during socialism? To what extend distancing from historically-situated roots put micro-antifascisms at risk of being easily coopted by liberal identity politics, political parties' agendas, or market commodification?

*Ana Hofman* is an ethnomusicologist and anthropologist whose research has focused on music, sound and politics in socialist and post-socialist societies, with an emphasis on memory, affect and activism. Her research interests include the issues of labour, class, gender, political economy and social movements in the present-day conjuncture of neoliberalism and post-socialism in the area of former Yugoslavia. Dr. Hofman has published two monographs, Staging Socialist Femininity: Gender Politics and Folklore Performances in Serbia (2011), and Music, Affect, Politics: New Lives of Partisan Songs in Slovenia (2015), dealing with contemporary musical recuperation of WWII Yugoslav antifascist resistance. She served as co-editor (with Federico Spinetti and

Monika E. Schoop ) of a 2020 Special Issue of *Popular Music and Society*, titled “Music and the Politics of Memory: Resounding Antifascism across Borders.” Dr. Hofman has been appointed as Postdoctoral Fulbright Fellow at the Graduate School of City University of New York in 2018. Dr. Hofman is currently undertaking research on strategic amateurism and musical afterlives of socialism in the post-Yugoslav societies.

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Vjeran Pavlaković

Department of Cultural Studies, University of Rijeka

### **From the Obliteration of Remembrance to the Muralization of War: Transformations of Post-YU Cultures of Memory**

The Wars of Yugoslav Dissolution were accompanied by a systematic destruction of the socialist memory cultures, with varying intensity and success across the former republics. The memoryscapes of the antifascist struggle and revolutionary transformation of socialist Yugoslavia were replaced with new monuments, street names, museums, memorial parks and other public sites of memory dedicated to the conflicts in the 1990s. At times the new memoryscape allowed for co-existence of the many historical layers, while in many cases the nation-building narratives obliterated all evidence of previous cultures of memory. Three decades after the beginning Yugoslavia's bloody demise, we can observe the institutionalization of the dominant narratives, or the establishment of “political memory” in Aleida Assmann's conceptualization of four formats of memory (2004). This paper explores how after the assault on the antifascist memory and the hyper-production of post-1991 memorial spaces, current post-Yugoslav cultures of memory not only engage in mnemonic wars by denying alternative narratives through controversial monuments, contested commemorations, and revisionist exhibitions, but have moved to the subcultural realm of street art. The next generation of post-Yugoslav youth is now actively engaged in the reproduction of dominant narratives that celebrate war and glorify war criminals through elaborately conceptualized and sophisticated graffiti, street art, and war murals. What is the potential of street art, murals, and other contemporary mnemonic activities to offer alternative interpretations of the difficult 20th century in order to avoid future regional conflicts?

Vjeran Pavlaković is an associate professor at the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Rijeka, Croatia. He received his Ph.D. in History in 2005 from the University of Wash-

ington, and has published articles on cultural memory, transitional justice in the former Yugoslavia, and the Spanish Civil War. He is a co-editor of the volume *Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia* (Routledge, 2019), and other recent publications include “The Legacy of War and Nation-Building in Croatia since 1990,” in *Balkan Legacies: The Long Shadow of Conflict and Ideological Experiment in Southeastern Europe* (Purdue UP, 2021), and “Memory Politics in the Former Yugoslavia” in *Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe* (2020). He was the lead researcher on the *Memoryscapes* project as part of Rijeka's European Capital of Culture in 2020 and a co-founder of the Cres Summer School on Transitional Justice and Memory Politics. Current research includes transnational muralization of conflict and a history of Dalmatian immigrants in the American Southwest.

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Tanja Petrović

Institute of Culture and Memory Studies ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

### **The Problem with (Yugo)nostalgia**

Relatively soon after the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of the socialist projects in East and Southeast European societies, the term nostalgia emerged in the everyday, journalistic and academic discourses to designate an array of very diverse practices of recalling/reviving aspects of the socialist past, encompassing products of popular culture (music, films), everyday objects, food, drinks, visual symbols, recognizable figures... During the last three post-socialist decades, nostalgia for socialism, labeled Yugo-nostalgia in post-Yugoslav societies and its diasporas, has not lost much of its currency. It still occupies an important place in social and scholarly debates.

In my presentation, I focus on two important characteristics of these discussions, which both often result in trivialising affective engagements with various aspects of the socialist past, rendering them banal and apolitical. First, I discuss the reduction of these feelings to a commodity and consumerist and consumption practices, on the one hand, and understanding of socialist products and its popular culture as banal, kitschy and non-reflexive, on the other. Second, I highlight the limitations of and consequences of “objectification” of nostalgia in the academic attempts to analyse it as a solid concept within the growing field of the memory studies, where it is firmly connected to the notions of remembering and the past, while the present agency of

nostalgic things and feelings is largely overlooked and ignored. *Tanja Petrović* is a lead research associate at the Institute of Culture and Memory Studies ZRC SAZU and professor at the ZRC SAZU Graduate school in Ljubljana. She is interested in uses and meanings of socialist and Yugoslav legacies in post-Yugoslav societies, as well as in cultural, linguistic, political, and social processes that shape reality of these societies. She explores a plethora of issues, encompassing the role of language in forming ideologies, memory and identity, labor and gender histories in post-Yugoslav spaces, the relationship between memory, heritage, and historiographic narratives on Yugoslav socialism. She published numerous articles and monographs in the fields of anthropology of post-socialism, memory studies, masculinity, gender history, heritage studies, linguistic anthropology, and labor history. Among them are *Europa: das jugoslawische Vermächtnis und Zukunftsstrategien in postjugoslawischen Gesellschaften* (Berlin: Verbrecher, 2015), *Made in YU 2015* (ed. with Jernej Mikuž, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2019), and “Towards an affective history of Yugoslavia”, *Filozofija i društvo* 2016, 27(3), 502-520.

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*Andrew Gilbert*

University of Bremen

*Larisa Kurtović*

University of Ottawa

### **Worker politics beyond nostalgia**

Worker movements are a vibrant but understudied context to explore the relationship between politics, art, and the remainders of socialist Yugoslavia. Indeed, worker politics are often celebrated as an aspect of Yugoslav socialist history, but rarely are contemporary workers' struggles foregrounded in the literature on the politics of memory or cultural production. In this paper we present on our research on post-socialist worker politics in Tuzla, with a particular focus on the February 2014 uprising and the multi-year struggle and victory of the workers of the Dita detergent factory to preserve their factory and re-start production despite the threat of bankruptcy and liquidation. We will touch upon diverse aspects of this research, including: the role of the (post)socialist factory in the production of goods, subjects, and politics; the capacity of comics to capture that role as well as to redefine the political and demonstrate the relationship between past, present, and future; the Radnički univerzitet activist platform as a site of worker cultural produc-

tion; and the domains of hip-hop and football fandom as sites of post-socialist cultural production, critical political consciousness-raising, and participation in history in the wake of mass youth unemployment.

*Andrew Gilbert* is Senior Researcher at the Department of Anthropology and Cultural Research at the University of Bremen. His research explores the possibilities and politics of social transformation in contexts of historical upheaval, be it international intervention in the aftermath of war, labor struggles to protect the possibility of a secure livelihood, or citizen activism to preserve urban life-worlds from the diverse forces that would undermine them. His work is increasingly collaborative and experiments with the political and ethnographic potential of diverse media, such as in the graphic ethnography project *Reclaiming Dita*, developed with anthropologist Larisa Kurtović and graphic artist Boris Stapić.

*Larisa Kurtović* is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Ottawa. She is a political anthropologist who conducts research on activist, labor-based and environmental movements in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina. She is currently writing a book entitled *Future as Predicament: Political Life After Catastrophe* based on her long-term research in postwar-Bosnia, as well as working on a graphic ethnography, *Reclaiming Dita*, with anthropologist Andrew Gilbert and graphic artist Boris Stapić. Her most recent research is focused on public memory and affective politics of infrastructure in postwar Sarajevo.

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*Jasmina Šepetavc, Natalija Majsova*

Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana

### **Local film festivals, Balkan film, and collective memory in the post-Yugoslav space**

The presentation foregrounds and explores how the selection and curation of “Balkan” film programmes at film festivals contribute to the construction and transformation of regional identities. In parallel, the authors analyse how film festivals in the post-Yugoslav space function as agents of collective and cultural memory. In doing so, they address the notable rise of different types of small, and thematically or formally specific film festivals in the post-Yugoslav space over the last two decades, as well as their different levels of interconnectedness (thematic, organisational, etc.). Furthermore, the authors highlight how

film festivals contribute to the contemporary understanding of the Balkans through curating and experimenting with festival formats, contents and forms. More specifically, they examine the aims, purposes and strategies that festivals use to highlight post-Yugoslav and Balkan film production, the relationship between the signifiers post-Yugoslav and Balkan film, and the formal and thematic features of post-Yugoslav and Balkan film production screened at such – locally oriented and, at least to some extent, experimentally oriented – festivals. Presenting a review of regional festivals with a strong focus on Balkan or post-Yugoslav film production, and a contextualised case study of the Ljubljana International Short Film Festival (FEKK, 2015-), which has devoted a large part of its programme to films from the Balkans from its very beginning, the authors also show that film festivals have not only been key promoters of regional film production and transnational industry integration over the last decade, but also key actors in the constructions of the idea and identity of "Balkan cinema". The term is described by various authors (see e.g. Papadimitriou and Grgić, 2020) as a transnational hybrid and a response to the political, social and historical problems of the region. The label 'Balkan film' is thus grounded in collective memory (not only of the post-Yugoslav cultural space but also of the wider region), but it is also a contemporary regional response to the history of stereotyping of the Balkans on the one hand, and the region's complex relationship with the European Union on the other. In addition to the representational and production dimensions of the signifier Balkan film, this paper also sheds light on issues of distribution, curation and networks as key to understanding its utopian potential for thinking memory in relation to the future.

*Jasmina Šepetavc* holds a PhD in Gender Studies and is a researcher at the Centre for Cultural and Religious Studies (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana), a film critic and a film festival selector. Her research interests include film-, popular music-, feminist- and queer theory. She regularly publishes in Slovenian and international academic journals and film magazines (*Studies in European Cinema*, *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, *Družboslovne razprave*, *Ekran*).

*Natalija Majsova* is an assistant professor and research associate at the Department of Cultural Studies, University of Ljubljana, and an occasional film critic and essayist. Her research interests involve cultural and film theory, (post-)Soviet cultural studies, memory studies, and media archaeology. She regularly publishes in Slovenian and international academic journals (e.g., *Studies*

in Soviet and Russian Cinema, *Teorija in praksa*, *Družboslovne razprave*) and has authored chapters in volumes published by presses such as Brill, Palgrave Macmillan, Routledge. Her last monograph *Soviet Science Fiction Cinema and the Space Age: Memorable Futures* was published with Lexington Books in 2021. With Sabine Lenk, she has also co-edited the volume *Faith in a Beam of Light: Magic Lantern and Belief in Western Europe, 1860-1940* (Brepols, 2022).



# Postjugoslovanske kulture spomina

Prvi dan dvodnevnega simpozija  
Memory Culture in Flux: From Post-Yugoslavia  
to Conceptual Problems

**Organizatorja:**

Gal Kirn in Ana Hofman

**Organizacijski partnerji:**

Filozofska Fakulteta in ZRC SAZU  
v sodelovanju z Univerzo Södertörn

**Financirano s strani:**

ARRS in Fondacije za baltske in vzhodnoevropske  
študije - raziskovalna projekta:

- »Protesti, umetniške prakse in kultura spomina v  
postjugoslovanskem kontekstu« (ARRS J6-3144)
- »Distrusting Monuments. Art and War in the Former  
Yugoslavia« (21-PR2-0015)

**Lokacija:**

Zemljepisni muzej ZRC SAZU,  
Gosposka ulica 13, 1000 Ljubljana

## UVODNI TEKST

Kakšno vlogo sta odigrala revizija kolektivnega spomina in zgodovinski revizionizem v postsocialistični tranziciji, pri oblikovanju novih nacionalnih držav v (post)jugoslovanskem kontekstu? Novi uradni državni spomin se je utemeljil na nacionalistični slavni preteklosti pa tudi na tekmi/konkurenči pri vprašanju – kdo je večna žrtev zgodovine? Ta postsocialistični spomin je dodobra prekril nekdanji uradni državni spomin, ki je gradil socialistično Jugoslavijo predvsem na skupnem spominu in izkušnjah antifašizma in NOB. Če se je na uradnem nivoju, nove proslave, nova spominska obeležja, nova nacionalna ideologija spomina dobro utrdila, kako je moč razložiti sledove alternativnih ostankov in tudi nostalgičnih strukturnih občutkov, ki so se pojavili v številnih kolektivnih praksah v državah bivše Jugoslavije? Zaradi močne in negativne usmerjenosti v socialistično in partizansko/antifašistično preteklost lahko vztrajanje na progresivnejših in nostalgičnih strukturnih občutkih prek etničnih meja kaže na globoko nesoglasje, ki ima politične in ekonomske, ne le kulturne posledice. Prispevki bodo obravnavali različne teme, ki se ukvarjajo z uradnimi diskurzi in protihegemoniskimi praksami, tako njihovimi emancipatornimi potenciali kot njihovimi omejitvami, ki se izčrpavajo v poglabljanju družbenih in gospodarskih razkolov po vsej postjugoslovanski regiji.

## PROGRAM

10.00–10.15 <b>Uvodne besede</b> Gal Kirn in Ana Hofman	15.30–17.00 <b>Moderatorka</b> Katja Kobolt
10.15–11.45 <b>Moderatorka</b> Cecilia Sjöholm, Södertörn University	<b>Delavska politika onkraj nostalgiјe</b> Andrew Gilbert, Univerza v Bremnu; Larisa Kurtović, Univerza v Ottawi
<b>Razumevanje razpada Jugoslavije skozi prizmo »primitivne akumulacije spomina«</b> Gal Kirn, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana	<b>Lokalni filmski festivali, balkanski film in kolektivni spomin v postjugoslovanskem prostoru</b> Jasmina Šepetavec in Natalija Majsova, Fakulteta za družbene vede, Ljubljana
<b>»Mikro antifašizem«: Aktivizem in postjugoslovanska politika spomina</b> Ana Hofman, Inštitut za kulturne in spominske študije Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (ZRC SAZU)	
11.45–12.15 Odmor	
12.15 – 13.45 <b>Moderator</b> Martin Pogačar, ZRC SAZU	
<b>Od izbrisca spomina do muralizacije vojne: transformacije postjugoslovanskih kultur spomina</b> Vjeran Pavlaković, Univerza na Reki	
<b>Težava z (jugo)nostalgijo</b> Tanja Petrović, ZRC SAZU	

*Gal Kirn*  
Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana

## Razumevanje razpada Jugoslavije skozi prizmo »primitivne akumulacije spomina«

Ob orisu osrednjih zastavkov obeh raziskovalnih projektov bi se rad dotaknil vprašanja, kako in kdaj je spomin zlasti na vojne in konflikte postal primarno prizorišče ideoološkega boja v nekdanji Jugoslaviji? Spomin, kapital, vojna – označevalni pojmi in kategorije, ki temeljno prečijo naša družbena razmerja: a na kakšen način se ta področja prepletajo in medsebojno vplivajo? Tranzicija oziroma raje družbena transformacija socialistične Jugoslavije pomeni izredno intenzivno ideoološko-politično in umetniško de-/re-/konstrukcijo nekoč skupnih političnih in ideooloških imaginarijev. Zgodili sta se politična in ekonomska transformacija, obenem pa so ju spremljali ogromni vojni: druga svetovna vojna in nedavna vojna v devetdesetih letih minulega stoletja. V predavanju bom razvil analitični okvir Marxovega koncepta »primitivne akumulacije kapitala«, ki je bil nedavno reaktualiziran pri razumevanju postsocialistične tranzicije in neoliberalnega prestrukturiranja. Primitivna akumulacija kapitala govori o nasilnih in zlasti neekonomskih procesih, ki se vzpostavijo v trenutkih nastanka pa tudi med krizo ali prehodi. Najprej bom skušal izpostaviti, na kakšen način lahko »primitivna akumulacija spomina« prispeva k globljemu razumevanju jugoslovanskega razpada, pri čemer bom orisal specifično delovanje primerov, kjer se srečata revizionizem in kapital. Kaj imata skupnega narodna sprava in spravaški prehod v kapitalizem v Sloveniji? Ta prispevek lahko beremo tudi v luči temeljnega manjka marksistične analize znotraj študij spomina, ki so dolgo zanemarjale povezavo med spominom in politično ekonomijo.

*Gal Kirn* je docent sociologije kulture in na FF zaposlen kot znanstveni sodelavec, kjer vodi raziskovalni projekt. Zadnjih 10 let je delal v nemškem akademskem kontekstu (Institute of Cultural Inquiry – ICI Berlin, Humboldtova Univerza, TU Dresden, GWZO Leipzig). Kirn se je v svojem raziskovalnem delu ukvarjal s tematiko tranzicije v socialističnem in postsocialističnem kontekstu, še posebej so ga zanimala spremembe na področjih umetnosti, politike in spomina. Objavil je dve monografiji: *Partisan Counter-Archive. Retracing the Ruptures of Art and Memory in the Yugoslav People's Liberation Struggle* (De Gruyter, 2020) in *Partisan Ruptures. Self-Management, Market Reform and the Spectre of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Pluto Press, 2019). V tem raziskovalnem projektu se premika v čas sedanosti. Z Natasha Ginwalo in

Niloufar Tajeri je tudi sourednik knjige *Nights of the Dispossessed. Riots Unbound* (Columbia Press, 2021); z Marianom Burchardtom pa je objavil zbornik *Beyond Neoliberalism: Social Analysis After 1989* (Springer/Palgrave, 2017).

*Ana Hofman*  
Inštitut za kulturne in spominske študije, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

## »Mikro antifašizem«: Aktivizem in postjugoslovanske politike spomina

Predavanje se osredotoča na sporni status zgodovinske izkušnje jugoslovanskega antifašističnega odpora (narodnoosvobodilni boj, NOB) v politikah spomina po razpadu Jugoslavije. V središču postavlja dvoumne pomene tako imenovanega »zgodovinskega antifašizma« in »sodobnega antifašizma«, ki se na pogosto nepričakovane načine križata v postjugoslovanskem pevskem aktivizmu. V svojem poskusu, da bi se distancirali od tega, kar vidijo kot »depolitizirano« uporabo antifašizma s strani političnih elit kot »praznega slogana« ali »deklarativne drže«, se aktivisti odločajo za tako imenovane »mikro antifašizme« kot načine sodobne politizacije zgodovinske dediščine NOB kot aktivistične, vsakdanje prakse, ki je v nasprotju z državno spodbujenimi »makro« antifašizmi (v preteklosti in sedanjosti).

V središču moje raziskave so posledice razumevanja antifašizma kot moralnega in etičnega koncepta onkraj »ideoološkega sistema« ali »državne strukture«. Prizadevam si odgovoriti na naslednja vprašanja: Kako se kažejo težnje po tematizaciji antifašizma skozi širše okvire transnacionalnih revolucionarnih in dekolonialnih bojev, protestov in družbeno angažiranih gibanj? Kakšne so posledice uporabe antifašizma kot platforme za kritično obravnavo institucionalne politike v postsocialističnem kontekstu, kjer je bil jugoslovanski antifašizem v času socializma institucionalizirana vrednota in praksa? V kolikšni meri je zaradi oddaljevanja od zgodovinskega pomena mikro antifašizem izpostavljen tveganju, da ga zlahka kooptirajo liberalne identitetne politike, agende političnih strank ali tržna komodifikacija?

*Dr. Ana Hofman* je etnomuzikologinja in antropologinja, ki se ukvarja z glasbo, zvokom in politiko v socialističnih in postsocialističnih družbah, s poudarkom na spominu, afektu in aktivizmu. Med njenimi raziskovalnimi interesi so vprašanja dela, razreda, spola, politične ekonomije in družbenih gibanj v današnji konjunkciji neoliberalizma in postsocializma na območju nekdanje

Jugoslavije. Objavila je dve monografiji: *Staging Socialist Femininity*: (2011) in *Music, Affect, Politics: New Lives of Partisan Songs in Slovenia* (2015). Slednja obravnava sodobno glasbeno rekuveracijo jugoslovenskega protifašističnega odpora iz druge svetovne vojne. Bila je sourednica (skupaj s Federicom Spinettijem in Moniko E. Schoop) posebne številke revije *Popular Music and Society* iz leta 2020 z naslovom *Resounding Antifascism across Borders*. Dr. Hofman je bila leta 2018 imenovana za doktorsko Fulbrightovo štipendistko na Graduate School of City University of New York. Trenutno raziskuje glasbene reartikulacije socializma v postjugoslovenskih družbah.

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Vjeran Pavlaković

Oddelek za kulturne študije, Univerza v Rijeku

### **Od izbrisca spomina do muralizacije vojne: transformacije postjugoslovenskih kultur spomina**

Vojne za razpad Jugoslavije je spremljalo sistematično uničevanje socialističnih spominskih kultur, ki je bilo v nekdanjih republikah različno intenzivno in uspešno. Spominske krajine antifašističnega boja in revolucionarne preobrazbe socialistične Jugoslavije so nadomestili novi spomeniki, imena ulic, muzeji, spominski parki in druga javna mesta spomina, posvečena konfliktom v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Včasih je nova spominska krajina omogočala soobstoj številnih zgodovinskih plastev, v mnogih primerih pa so priopovedi o izgradnji države izbrisale vse dokaze o prejšnjih kulturah spomina. Tri desetletja po začetku krvavega propada Jugoslavije lahko opazujemo institucionalizacijo prevladajočih priopovedi oziroma vzpostavitev »političnega spomina« v konceptualizaciji Aleide Assmann o štirih oblikah spomina (2004). Ta članek raziskuje, kako po napadu na antifašistični spomin in ob hiperprodukciji spominskih prostorov po letu 1991 sedanje postjugoslovanske kulture spomina ne le sodelujejo v mnemoničnih vojnah z zanikanjem alternativnih priopovedi prek spornih spomenikov, spornih komemoracij in revisionističnih razstav, temveč so se preselile tudi na subkulturno področje ulične umetnosti. Nova generacija postjugoslovenske mladine je zdaj aktivno vključena v reprodukcijo dominantnih priopovedi, ki slavijo vojno in poveličujejo vojne zločince s prefijeno zasnovanimi in prefijenimi grafiti, ulično umetnostjo in vojnimi freskami. Kakšen je potencial ulične umetnosti, fresk in drugih sodobnih mnemotehničnih dejavnosti, da ponudijo alternativne interpretacije težkega 20. stoletja in se tako izognejo prihodnjim regionalnim konfliktom?

Vjeran Pavlaković je izredni profesor na oddelku za kulturne študije na Univerzi na Reki na Hrvaškem. Leta 2005 je doktoriral iz zgodovine in objavil članke o kulturnem spominu, tranzicijski pravičnosti in nekdanji Jugoslaviji in španski državljanski vojni. Je sourednik zbornika *Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia* (Routledge, 2019), med njegovimi nedavnimi objavami pa sta tudi *The Legacy of War and Nation-Building in Croatia since 1990* v *Balkan Legacies: The Long Shadow of Conflict and Ideological Experiment in Southeastern Europe* (Purdue UP, 2021) in *Memory Politics in Former Yugoslavia* v *Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe* (2020). Bil je raziskovalni vodja projekta *Memoryscapes* v okviru projekta Reka – Evropska prestolnica kulture 2020 in soustanovitelj poletne šole Cres o tranzicijski pravičnosti in politikah spomina. Njegove trenutne raziskave vključujejo transnacionalno muralizacijo konfliktov in zgodovino dalmatinskih priseljencev na ameriškem jugozahodu.

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Tanja Petrović

Inštitut za kulturne in spominske študije, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

### **Težava z (jugo)nostalgijo**

Relativno kmalu po padcu berlinskega zidu in koncu socialističnih projektov na vzhodu in v jugovzhodnoevropskih družbah se je izraz nostalgijski pojavit v vsakdanjem, novinarskem in akademskih diskurzih, da bi označil vrsto zelo različnih praks spominjanja/oživljanja vidikov socialistične preteklosti, vključno z izdelki popularne kulture (glasba, filmi), vsakdanjimi predmeti, hrano, pijačo, vizualnimi simboli, prepoznavnimi osebami ipd. V zadnjih treh postsocialističnih desetletjih se je razširila nostalgijska po socializmu, v postjugoslovenskem prostoru označena kot jugonostalgija. V jugoslovenskih družbah in njenih diasporah ni izgubila veliko veljave, saj še vedno zavzema pomembno mesto v družbenih in znanstvenih razpravah.

V svoji predstavitev se osredotočam na dve pomembni značilnosti teh razprav, ki pogosto vodita v banaliziranje afektivnega ukvarjanja z različnimi vidiki socialističnih preteklosti, zaradi česar postanejo banalni in apolitični. Prvič, razpravljam o redukciji teh čustev na blago ter potrošniške prakse na eni strani in razumevanju socialističnih izdelkov in njegove popularne kulture kot banalnih, kičastih in nerefleksivnih na drugi strani. Drugič, izpostavljam omejitve in posledice »objektivizacije« nostalgijskih akademskih poskusih, da bi jo analizirali kot trden koncept v okviru rastočega področja spominskih študij, kjer je tesno povezana s

pojmi, spominjanja in preteklosti, hkrati pa je pri sedanjem posredovanju nostalgičnih stvari in občutkov v veliki meri spregledana in ignorirana.

Tanja Petrović je vodilna raziskovalka na Inštitutu za kulturne in spominske študije ZRC SAZU in profesorica na Podiplomski šoli ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani. Zanimajo jo rabe in pomeni socialistične in jugoslovanske dediščine v postjugoslovenskih družbah ter kulturni, jezikovni, politični in družbeni procesi, ki oblikujejo resničnost teh družb. Raziskuje številna vprašanja, ki vključujejo vlogo jezika pri oblikovanju ideologij, spomina in identitete, zgodovino dela in spolov v postjugoslovenskih prostorih, odnos med spominom, dediščino in historiografskimi pripovedmi o jugoslovanskem socializmu. Objavila je številne članke in monografije s področja antropologije postjugoslovenskega prostora socializma, spominskih študij, moškosti, zgodovine spolov, dediščinskih študij, jezikoslovja ter antropologije in zgodovine dela. Med njimi so: *Europa: das jugoslawische Vermächtnis und Zukunftsstrategien in postjugoslawischen Gesellschaften* (Berlin: Verbrecher, 2015), *Made in YU 2015* (ur. z Jernejem Mlekužem, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2019) in *Naproti afektivni zgodovini Jugoslavije* (Filozofija i društvo 2016, 27(3), 502–520).

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Andrew Gilbert  
Univerza v Bremnu

Larisa Kurtović  
Univerza v Ottawi

### Delavska politika onkraj nostalgije

Delavska gibanja so živahen, a premalo raziskan kontekst za raziskovanje odnosa med politiko, umetnostjo in ostanki socialistične Jugoslavije. Delavska politika je namreč pogosto slavljenja kot vidik jugoslovanske socialistične zgodovine, vendar so sodobni delavski boji redko v ospredju v literaturi o politiki spomina ali kulturni produkciji. V tem prispevku predstavljamo našo raziskavo o postsocialistični delavski politiki v Tuzli, s posebnim poudarkom na vstaji februarja 2014 ter večletnem boju in zmagi delavcev tovarne detergentov Dita, ki so kljub grožnji stečaja in likvidacije ohranili svojo tovarno in ponovno zagnali proizvodnjo. Dotaknili se bomo različnih vidikov te raziskave, med drugim: vloge (post)socialistične tovarne pri proizvodnji blaga, subjektov in politike; zmožnosti stripa, da zajame to vlogo ter na novo opredeli politično in pokaže razmerje med

preteklostjo, sedanjostjo in prihodnostjo; aktivistične platforme Radnički univerzitet kot mesta delavske kulturne proizvodnje ter področij hiphopa in nogometnega navijaštva kot mest postsocialistične kulturne proizvodnje, kritičnega dvigovanja politične zavesti in sodelovanja v zgodovini zaradi množične brezposelnosti mladih.

Andrew Gilbert je višji raziskovalec na Oddelku za antropologijo in kulturne raziskave na Univerzi v Bremnu. Raziskuje možnosti in politike družbene preobrazbe v kontekstih zgodovinskih pretresov, pa naj gre za mednarodno posredovanje po vojni, delavske boje za zaščito možnosti varnega preživetja ali državljanski aktivizem za ohranitev urbanih življenjskih svetov pred različnimi silami, ki bi jih spodkopale. Pri svojem delu vse bolj sodeluje in eksperimentira s političnim in etnografskim potencialom različnih medijev, kot na primer v projektu grafične etnografije Reclaiming Dita, ki ga je razvil z antropologinjo Lariso Kurtović in grafičnim umetnikom Borisom Stapićem.

Larisa Kurtović je izredna profesorica antropologije na Univerzi v Ottawi. Je politična antropologinja, ki raziskuje aktivistična, delavska in okoljska gibanja v povojni Bosni in Hercegovini. Trenutno piše knjigo z naslovom *Prihodnost kot zagata: Politično življenje po katastrofi*, ki temelji na njenih dolgoročnih raziskavah v povojni Bosni, ter pripravlja grafično etnografijo z naslovom *Reclaiming Dita*, ki jo piše skupaj z antropologom Andrewem Gilbertom in grafičnim umetnikom Borisom Stapićem. Njene najnovejše raziskave se osredotočajo na javni spomin in afektivno politiko infrastrukture v povojnem Sarajevu.

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Jasmina Šepetavc, Natalija Majsova  
FDV, Ljubljana

### Lokalni filmski festivali, balkanski film in kolektivni spomin v postjugoslovenskem prostoru

Prispevek izhaja iz vprašanja, kako selekcija in kuriranje »balkanskih« filmskih programov v okviru filmskih festivalov prispeva k izgradnji in predugačenju regionalnih identitet. Vzporedno s tem avtorici analizirata, kako filmski festivali v postjugoslovenskem prostoru delujejo kot agensi kolektivnega in kulturnega spominjanja. Pri tem naslavljata izrazit porast različnih oblik manjših, specifičnih filmskih festivalov (tj. festivalov z jasnimi vsebinskimi in/ali formalnimi usmeritvami) v postjugoslovenskem prostoru v zadnjih dveh desetletjih in različne ravni njihove

medsebojne povezanosti (vsebinske, organizacijske ipd.). Nadalje avtorici izpostavita, kako filmski festivali skozi kuriranje in eksperimentiranje s festivalskimi formati, vsebinami in formami (so)oblikujejo sodobno idejo Balkana, pri čemer se podrobnejše posvetita ciljem, namenom in strategijam fokusiranih obravnav postjugoslovanske in, tudi širše, balkanske filmske produkcije, odnosu med označevalcema postjugoslovanski in balkanski film ter izstopajočim formalno-vsebinskim prvinam postjugoslovenske in balkanske filmske produkcije, predvajane na tovrstnih – lokalno usmerjenih in vsaj do določene mere eksperimentalno orientiranih – festivalih. S pregledom regionalnih festivalov z izrazitim fokusom na balkansko oziroma postjugoslovansko filmsko produkcijo ter kontekstualizirane študije primera Ljubljanskega mednarodnega festivala kratkega filma (FEKK, 2015–), ki od vsega začetka velik del programa posveča filmom z Balkana, avtorici pokažeta, da filmski festivali v zadnjem desetletju niso bili le ključni promotorji regionalne filmske produkcije in transnacionalnega industrijskega povezovanja, temveč tudi ključni akterji v konstrukcijah ideje in identitete »balkanskega filma«. Tega različni avtorji\_ice (glej npr. Papadimitriou in Grgić, 2020) opisujejo kot transnacionalni hibrid in odgovor na politične, družbene in zgodovinske težave regije. Oznaka »balkanski film« je tako utemeljena v kolektivnem spominu (ne samo postjugoslovenskega kulturnega prostora, temveč vse bolj tudi širše regije), hkrati pa je sodoben regionalni odgovor na zgodovino stereotipizacij Balkana na eni in kompleksen odnos regije do Evropske unije na druge strani. Ta prispevek pa poleg reprezentacijskih in producijskih dimenzij označevalca balkanski film osvetli tudi vprašanja distribucije, kuratorstva in mrež, kot ključna za razumevanje njegovih utopičnih potencialov za mišljenje spomina v odnosu do prihodnosti.

Jasmina Šepetavc je doktorica študij spolov, raziskovalka na Centru za proučevanje kulture in religije (FDV UL), filmska kritičarka in selektorica filmskih festivalov. Raziskovalno se ukvarja s filmsko, feministično in queer teorijo ter popularno glasbo. Redno objavlja v domačih in tujih akademskih ter strokovnih revijah (*Studies in European Cinema*, *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, *Družboslovne razprave*, *Ekran*).

Natalija Majsova je docentka in znanstvena sodelavka na Oddelku in katedri za kulturologijo FDV UL. Raziskovalno jo zanimajo teorije kulture in filmske študije, (post)sovjetske kulturne študije, spominske študije in medijska arheologija. Redno objavlja v domačih in tujih znanstvenih publikacijah (revije *Studies in Soviet and Russian Cinema*, *Teorija in praksa*, *Družboslovne razprave*,

zborniki, izdani pri uglednih založbah, kot so Brill, Palgrave, Macmillan, Routledge). Leta 2021 je pri založbi Lexington Books izšla njena zadnja monografija *Soviet Science Fiction Cinema and the Space Age: Memorable Futures*, leta 2022 pa je pri založbi Brepols izšel zbornik *Faith in a Beam of Light: Magic Lantern and Belief in Western Europe, 1860–1940*, ki ga je souredila s Sabine Lenk.

